The Dissertation Committee for Karen Cody certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Language choice, language attitudes and ethnic identity in bilingual speakers: A case study comparing Québécois in Montréal and Texas Spanish in San Antonio

Committee:

Carl S. Blyth, Co-supervisor

S. Keith Walters, Co-supervisor

Jabier Elorrieta

Frederick G. Hensey

Dale A. Koike

Language choice, language attitudes and ethnic identity in bilingual speakers: A case study comparing Québécois in Montréal and Texas Spanish in San Antonio

by

Karen Cody, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2003

Dedication

To the treasure of my heart, Marilyse,

and in memory of Harriet, Mozelle, and my father.

Acknowledgements

I most gratefully acknowledge in this endeavor the presence of God, who, in His abundance and wisdom, provides for our greatest good.

I must acknowledge my overwhelming gratitude to my family: my daughter, for all she's taught me; my sister, who has supported us in ways too numerous to count; my mother, who was my first role model, and who has helped in moments of crisis all my life; my dad, who believed I can do anything; my cousins, especially Mozelle, and my Uncle Frank and Carolyn; my extended family, Michel and Ingrid and the in-laws.

I could not have managed without our friends: in Austin, the Normans, the McCartys, the Hughens, Steve and Harriet; in San Angelo, Jane, Celia and Savanna, Mr. Guenthner, the Levos, Pat; in Fort Worth/Arlington, Sean and Karen, Sharon, Ward, David, Cal and friends from FUMC; in Clyde, Dad's friends and neighbors, especially Jim, Nick and Janice, and FUMC.

I am eternally grateful to the Children's School of Austin for years of co-parenting, especially Mr. and Mrs. Wallin, Ms. Doty, the wonderful faculty and staff, and other children and parents who have been so supportive. The faculty and staff at Santa Rita Elementary in San Angelo have done all they could to ease the transition, especially Ms. Coleman and Ms. Springer, Coach McGee, Ms. Curtis, Ms. Artega and Ms. Sandoval.

I acknowledge the tremendous support we found at UUMC of Austin, and respites at Roddy Tree Ranch, but most especially our friends the Ercks, the

choirs and our Sunday School classes. We've been blessed with a new church home at FUMC of San Angelo, sustained by Carl, Carol, Grosse, Jane and staff, as well as our Sunday School and Confirmation classes.

We found great support and fellowship among the students at graduate housing on Lake Austin Blvd. throughout our five years of residence, especially Irma and Agustín and baby Victoria, Ana and Tony, Marú and Héctor and the kids, Cindy and Casey and the kids, Tima and Adam and the kids, Jennifer and the kids, Lucy, Joy and her mother, and so many others known by sight if not by name, including the staff and fellow gardeners.

I gratefully acknowledge fellow UT students, most especially Susan and David (and Tinker, Moonshadow/Blackie, Duke and Crystal) at Dripping Springs, and also trailblazing Agnès, as well as Lindsy, Heather, Stéphanie and Eric. The staff has my sincere thanks, especially Babette, as well as Sylvia and Alice. The UT faculty in the Departments of French and Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, and Linguistics was most influential in my experience, most especially the generous members of my committee, the director of my program, Jean-Pierre Montreuil, and the chair of the department, Dina Sherzer. I owe a debt as well to Dean Holland, Dr. Krause, the Modern Language faculty and staff at Angelo State University; and finally, to all those involved in my long interview process all over the country.

I thank God for the very capable medical care we've received from Drs. Ghodsi, Johnson, Hill, Harralson, Kendrick, Burkhalter, Stromboe, Hughes, Dagubhati, and Yazdani.

I must acknowledge that which has enriched our lives: string project, horseback riding, and gymnastics in Austin; Zorro and Fiddlestix, Julie, Skippers, Ms. Woyton, 4H, and Girl Scouts in San Angelo.

Finally, I am very grateful for the enthusiastic participation of the subjects of this study.

Language choice, language attitudes and ethnic identity in bilingual speakers: A case study comparing Québécois in Montréal and Texas Spanish in San Antonio

Publication No._____

Karen Cody, Ph.D,

The University of Texas at Austin, 2003

Supervisors: Carl Blyth and Keith Walters

In this dissertation, I describe the ethnic identities reported by three generations of two families, one a Mexican American family in San Antonio, Texas, the other a Québécois family in Montréal. Analysis of ethnographic interview data focusing on Spanish or French was conducted using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) Grounded Theory with respect to Keefe and Padilla's (1987) model of ethnic identity, Woolard's (1989) axes of solidarity versus status, and Heller's (1992) notion of language choice as political act.

For this Mexican American family, their identity is based on origin and physical markers of 'race', accompanying strong familism, detaching to varying degrees the component of language. The identification of the Texas variety of Spanish with a historically less powerful socio-economic group outweighed its covert prestige as a marker of solidarity within the group, primarily for the younger generations. All subjects of the Québécois family identify ethnic language fluency as a key component of their identity; none has detached the

language. Though the language variety was also historically identified with a less powerful socio-economic group, its covert prestige as a marker of solidarity against the majority prevailed to the point that the group has valorized their identity by choosing their variety of French in all interactions.

The qualitative data of this contrastive case study show that current models, based on primarily quantitative data gathered from discrete-response questionnaires, are too brittle to account for these very different constructions of identity. Identity is fluid, constructed in different ways for different ends, and a bicultural/bilingual identity is not merely a midpoint on an inevitable march to complete assimilation to the majority culture, but instead is often additive. This study also contributes to our understanding of the specific relationship between ethnic identity and language. Moreover, it contributes to a growing body of qualitative methodology, as well as research on the sociology of the language varieties of two large and increasingly powerful groups, Mexican Americans and Québécois.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 ORIENTATION

As a native English-speaking Anglo from South and West Texas who married a Québécois from Montréal, I became very interested in both the specific varieties of Spanish and French spoken by minority members of these areas and by how they saw the value of their language variety. I had studied both standard Spanish and standard French in the classroom, but was fortunate enough to have begun my teaching career in the midst of the validation of the diversity of 'non-standard varieties.' With both my linguistic and practical acquaintance with these two minority groups, I came to wonder why one can call oneself Latino or Hispanic and speak very little Spanish of any variety while one must be proficient in specifically Canadian French and prefer its use to call oneself Québécois? How does the bilingual Québécois' definition of identity differ from the bilingual Texas Spanish speaker's, specifically this link between language and ethnic identity, and why might this be? My decision to study the sociology of these language varieties was influenced by this very personal situation.

I am interested in discovering as well which factors may have led to validation or recognition by law of the Québécois variety of French along with English as "official languages" of Québec while the variety of Spanish spoken in Texas remains, to a large degree, a stigmatized variety with little or no political or economic validation. Both groups, Texas Spanish-speakers and Québécois, have found their situation changed since I began this study. With more than 13 million

Americans of Mexican origin counted in the U.S. Census of 1990, they will make up the new majority in Texas and other large states as California and New York within the decade, projected to become the largest minority group in the United States--surpassing African Americans (Hirschman, 1994).[1] The sheer number of Mexican origin group members within Texas has had an impact on state politics in the 2002 gubernatorial election and continues to have an impact on state education policies, particularly in bilingual education. Whether their new majority status will also have an impact on Mexican Americans' (and English-speakers') attitudes about their variety of Spanish remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the Québécois have lost their latest bid for secession from the Canadian Commonwealth. Will they soften their stand on language use to accommodate Anglophones?

This study is important because cross-cultural comparisons of notions of ethnicity are not well represented in the literature. Most such surveys, questionnaires and ethnographic observations are of one minority group in relation to the majority culture. For a variety of reasons which I wanted to explore, these two language varieties share striking linguistic features and tendencies despite the geographic distance and historical differences between them. Both are considered non-standard varieties of national languages, and both are linked to a particular minority in a North American English-speaking majority culture. Despite many similarities in the ways these varieties differ from their

[1]According to the 2000 U.S. Census, some 37,561,380 Hispanics or Latinos of various races and origins were projected to be living within the United States in July 2001, the breakdown by claimed ancestry being still unavailable at press time.

respective "standard" languages, language use is markedly different for the two groups, particularly in patterns of code-switching, or changing language "in mid-stream" among bilinguals. The norm among Spanish-speakers in Texas is to mix the two languages rather freely, even when linguistic competence is not an issue and/or when both speakers are of Mexican origin, and to switch to English if the other speaker is an out-group member whether or not s/he speaks Spanish. Québécois, on the other hand, do not tend to mix languages unless in a specific accommodation of an out-group member or non-francophone participant. Indeed, Heller (1992) stated that even among very balanced bilinguals, a Québécois member will insist on speaking French to reinforce his/her identity.

Most striking, however, is that Texas Spanish-speakers and Québécois seem to feel very differently about the importance of the language to their ethnic identity; I wanted to identify the reasons for the very different attitudes about the language variety that marks the respective groups. Emblematic of the differences in attitudes about ethnic identity in the two populations studied here is the "labeling" of the groups, or their own identification of themselves as a separate group. There doesn't seem to be a problem in Montréal as "Québécois" is the term for both language variety and ethnic group preferred by almost all members of the French-speaking community, though for many it, unlike "French-Canadian/*Canadien français*" which is the unmarked label, does imply a political activism which few members would deny and which perhaps is itself a marker of group membership. There seems to be a homogeneity of attitude, of lack of acculturation to or accommodation of the majority English-speaking society. On

the other hand, the labeling of the Spanish-speaking population of Texas and the Southwest including California (as opposed to the Spanish-speakers of much more diverse provenance in other geographical areas as New York City, Miami, or Chicago) is problematic to say the least. Much of the variation in the notion of what makes up one's identity is reflected in the preferred term or label for the group. Varying degrees of acculturation and accommodation result in different choices. Each community, indeed each member, holds certain ideas of what connotations are carried by different labels--Chicano, Tejano, Latino, Hispano, Mexican American, Mexicano, Hispanic, Texican, Latin American, Tex-Mex--all come in and out of favor with the 'politically correct' for different reasons. For example, though 'Chicano' may be a preferred or unmarked term in California, it has a distinctly political cast in Texas. While any choice of term I make as an out-group member will be controversial, Mexican American parallels for me Italian American, Chinese American, etc., to imply American by birth but of Mexican descent, while perhaps not carrying many other assumptions as connotational baggage. This study unexpectedly revealed recent developments in this identity too that will be discussed at length in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

1.2 QUESTIONS

This case study describes and compares two relatively small but rich data sets drawn from oral interviews with bilingual minority families of three generations. Using the Grounded Theory of Strauss and Corbin (1998), I compare reported language use with attitudes expressed (explicitly and/or implicitly) toward the variety of Spanish/French spoken by the respondents, the

membership they claim, and the extent to which they would be willing to go to reinforce language choice as a marker of identity as a strategy (either intentional or subconscious) for political and economic validation.

During data collection, I elicited specific details about the respondents' reported fluency and use of both languages (English and their variety of French/Spanish), their attitudes toward their variety and toward the English-speaking culture in which they live, and their characterization of their ethnic identity, including how they label themselves. I detail the components of these two different identities as described by these two families using the framework established by Keefe and Padilla (1987). Their model of contextualized components of ethnic acculturation/assimilation to the majority culture originally described Chicano identity in California, but I had anticipated that its multi-dimensionality should be able to account for these two almost polar extremes in the link of language to identification. I had expected that this research would document a range of responses from the bilinguals of this study that would link language choice to language attitude to ethnic identity. I predicted that, for a variety of reasons to be identified when possible, all three generations of the bilingual family of Mexican origin in Texas (regardless of age, gender, education or language proficiency) will have accommodated the majority culture as well as the English language to a high degree, that their attitudes toward their variety of Spanish would not be wholly positive, and that they would be more likely to detach language as a requirement of ethnic membership than the Québécois. On the other hand, I anticipated that all three generations of the Québécois family

(and perhaps the younger generations markedly so) would not have so accommodated the majority English culture or language, that their attitudes toward their own language variety would be positive, and that they would require proficiency in the language as a necessary component of identity.

I anticipated the results would follow two specific lines according to my personal experiences with the informants and observations Heller made about constraints on codeswitching (1988, 1992). Those members with limited bilingual abilities would probably be forced to choose their dominant language as the language of interaction and to abandon the transaction when the linguistic transaction was too complicated for their limited skills, whether or not they be willing to accommodate the other speaker. I believed that those who are more balanced bilinguals--whose skills in both languages are adequate--would probably base their choice of language on the environment, on the unmarked choice. Whether this choice follows Heller's categorization of refusing to commit to one sole frame of reference, absence of in-group/out-group distinction, or self-assurance in one's own identity would have to be determined from additional comments during the telephone follow-up. However, I anticipated that at least one (and possibly several) of the second or middle generation studied would demonstrate a strong ethnic political affiliation by insisting on Texas Spanish/Québécois in all transactions regardless of environment, except possibly the one which takes place in an exclusively English context (with an English-speaking monolingual.)

From the start of this examination, two factors seemed important in the different evolutions of these cultures and languages. First, social structures available for centuries to French-speakers, including particularly continued opportunities for education in the language, may have served as a vehicle of cultural solidarity and certainly have insured that speakers would be literate in the language of their cultural identity. The social support system that developed when the English took over the French colony that included what is now Québec one hundred years after its establishment essentially duplicated all cultural institutions including churches, schools, hospitals and department stores (Heller 1978). Spanish-speakers in Texas have not been afforded the similar opportunity of education in Spanish to reinforce the tie between language and ethnic identity since Anglo domination followed independence from Mexico. Neither was there duplication of an intact social support system, so impelling the Mexican Americans more forcefully than the Québécois to assimilate, at least to some degree, to the majority English-speaking culture. Additionally, continuing immigration from Mexico into Texas encouraged (and continues to encourage) the identification of the Texas-born Spanish-speakers with Mexicans (if not their own self-identification then certainly such identification of them by the majority) in both positive and negative ways instead of focusing their identity as distinct from both the English-speaking Texan and Mexican populations. French immigration into Québec was fairly well confined to the earliest century of French domination of Canada, leading Québécois ultimately to see themselves as separate from both the English Canadians and the French. A third factor to

consider in explaining motivation for the different outcomes of status of these two ethnic minorities is the 'racialization' of one group and not the other. It is near impossible for a Canadian, even a citizen of Québec, to be identified as French or English in origin on purely physical characteristics. On the other hand, Mexican Americans, indeed anyone with dark hair/eyes/skin (including those of Italian and Middle Eastern origin), are often categorized on sight by a majority member as "other," by an in-group member as "one of our own." Perhaps as result of these three factors, there also seems to be a reported difference in attitudes which this study will confirm between Spanish-speakers in Texas and French-speakers in Québec about the importance of language to identity as well as the importance of assimilating to the majority English-speaking society.

In order to examine the role of the above factors as well as others found to exist in the historical and social contextualization of these two groups, I address these questions in this study:

1. Precisely how does a bilingual Québécois configure the components of his/her identity to an outgroup member (the researcher), and how does that differ from the configuration of identity by the bilingual Texas-Spanish speaker? Keefe and Padilla's model of ethnicity defines some eight components of identity arrayed over two axes.

2. Is there a predictable relationship between ethnic identity and attitude toward the ethnic language variety? According to Woolard (1989) a strong ethnic conscience is essential for valuing a language variety.

3. How far are ethnic members willing to go individually and collectively in exploiting language choice as a political strategy in the mobilization of their group? Heller (1992) claimed that the valuing or legitimizing of the use of French, in this case Québécois, was a significant factor in the mobilization of the Québécois in Québec and Ontario. I would anticipate the Mexican Americans of my study would be much less likely or linguistically able to so exploit the role of Spanish in order to validate their language variety in Texas.

4. To what extent, and for whom, is language then a "detachable" component of ethnic identity? If, as Fishman (1985) noted, ethnic pride is more attitudinal than behavioral, then one could indeed consider oneself a member of a group without speaking its language variety to any degree. A member of such a group would be much less likely to insist on political and economic validation of that variety, might exhibit less than favorable attitudes toward the variety that identifies the ethnicity, and would be less inclined to use that language variety as a strategy to obtain validation or legitimization of socio-economic and political power. However, Shu (1994) found in her study of Americans of Chinese descent that the ability to speak Chinese was the primary factor in determining ethnicity of those she studied. If language were not a detachable component of ethnic identity in that community, then one would expect to document very favorable attitudes toward the language variety that might lead ultimately to a political move for official recognition. I expected to construct from the data collected how their identity is defined and redefined by these two family groups, especially with regards to language.

Woolard's general research questions went beyond a matched guise study of language attitudes and mirrored those of this study: Why are some people able to retain a minority language while other groups lose theirs? Why are some groups slower and less successful in acquiring a majority language? Some of her specific questions about the situation of Catalán in relation to Castilian in Barcelona can be reworked for this study in Montréal and San Antonio:

5. Why have the Québécois variety of French and the Texas variety of Spanish survived as long and well as they have despite the long-term repression by the English-speaking majority, the anglophone Canadians and U.S. Americans, and the institutional power, prestige and worldwide utility of English?

6. Will Québécois/Texas Spanish survive longer, used not only by the native-speaking francophones/Mexican Americans as an ethnic language but also by the many anglophone inhabitants of the respective regions? What conditions encourage allophone immigrants and their children to learn Québécois/Texas Spanish, and under what conditions is such learning constrained? If learned, in what circumstances will Québécois/Texas Spanish actually be used by those of anglophone or allophone origins?

7. Can language planners and policymakers alter circumstances to encourage such acquisition and use, and should they?

These questions form the basis for analyzing the construction of ethnicity, language attitudes and reported language choice of these two multi-generational families, one in San Antonio of Mexican origin, the other in Montréal of French origin.

1.3 RESEARCH GOALS

This qualitative case study will yield data that map out how these families report the above-mentioned factors play out in their daily lives, in particular how they have affected attitudes about the particular varieties of French and Spanish and thus influence language choice and ethnic labeling. As pointed out by Johnson (1992), qualitative research methodology is not undertaken particularly to establish cause-and-effect or correlations of a limited number of variables or even clusters of variables; instead it has been chosen for this study to describe the complexity of the context surrounding how and why identity has been constructed thusly, both individually and collectively in these subjects, members of two different families, three different generations, two different speech communities, two different social systems. It became obvious very early in the analysis of the data that the Keefe and Padilla model of ethnicity, despite its advantage over previous models, could not account for the richness and contradiction of even these two limited data sets. As discussed in following chapters, their model, based primarily on quantitative methodology, remained very binary--their subjects were either more or less 'Chicano'/more or less 'American'. But my data revealed the complexity cited by López and Sabaugh (1980:385), who stated that "ethnicity is not a bag of norms producing automatic responses...nor is it a quality one has or lacks...ethnicity is variable and relative, not reducible to black/white categories." Before existing models can be adequately refined or new ones proposed, we must understand better how ethnic identity is constructed and reconstructed, with different results over time, in different places, under

historically different socio-political and socio-economic constraints. The data collected from minority members themselves, particularly from open-ended questions posed by an out-group member of the majority, will allow the construction of what the subjects think these identities are "supposed" to look and sound like. If the "how and why" of ethnic identity can be constructed in this case study of two cultural identities occupying opposite extremes of a traditional acculturation/assimilation scale, only then can the new or refined model of the components of ethnic identity be quantified and/or correlated, though that is not the aim of the present study.

> Shared social values or, perhaps more correctly, evaluations, are key links between macrosocial changes and the way people talk. Patterns of language acquisition, of language choice and codeswitching in interaction, and of language shift or change over time often depend on the association of particular language varieties with particular values. The evaluations that have the most critical effects on actual language use are not necessarily the conscious ideological debates discussed [in the previous chapter], but rather the automatic associations that are outside of the direct awareness of actors. (Woolard 1989:88)

The goals of this study then are to collect data of an ethnographic nature on a bilingual Mexican American family in San Antonio, Texas and a comparable bilingual Québécois family in Montréal in order to document as many factors of ethnic identity possible. Then I will document the attitudes of each member toward his/her variety of Spanish and French respectively and the likelihood that that variety can be politicized to force change in the socio-economic and -political status quo of the non-majority group at large. In the face of recent trends in legislation in both Canada and the United States and the "English-only" movement in the United States, particularly in areas with large concentrations of

Spanish-speaking populations like Texas, members of this minority may find ways to "reattach" the linguistic component of their identity, much as the Québécois and Catalonians have, in order to focus the identity sufficiently to exploit it to an advantage.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter Two I discuss the theoretical framework upon which this study was based. The multi-dimensional model of ethnicity proposed by Keefe and Padilla (1987) is presented as a great refinement on earlier models of acculturation and assimilation, though it too was ultimately insufficient in accounting for the data I collected. LePage's (1985) theory of linguistic choice as act of identity and Johnstone's (1996) speaker-centered approach to language choice provided additional scaffolding for the analysis of the data. Next, Lambert's matched guise experiments (1960) resulted in a methodology to evaluate attitudes toward language used by Woolard (1989) to support her hypothesis that attitudes about language can be analyzed to show variation in status and solidarity. I used an adaptation of Woolard's questionnaire in addition to that of Keefe and Padilla to collect data for this study. Next, Heller's (1978, 1988, 1992) theory of the politicization of language choice is discussed. Her contention that language choice is a political act was the third level of analysis of my data. Finally, absolutely critical to the analysis, informing the "why" of the questions, is the contextualization of these language varieties. At the end of Chapter Two, I outline the issues of historic importance in each speech community which have also influenced the distribution of power between the

English language of the majority and the respective varieties of the ethnic minorities.

In Chapter Three I describe the protocol for collecting and analyzing data. First, I discuss the selection of subjects, two families of three generations, one born and raised in San Antonio, the other in Montréal. Next, I discuss the instrument and the adaptations that were made, not only to account for a qualitative methodology, but also to moderate the very dichotomous nature of Keefe and Padilla's original. The adaptation also incorporated the elicitation of data following Woolard and Heller. Finally, I discuss the particulars of the interview itself and the qualitative methodology used to analyze the elicited data.

In Chapters Four and Five I present the data from the individual subjects (from San Antonio and Montréal, respectively), first as closely corresponding to the Keefe and Padilla "type" as possible, then as indicating attitude toward the ethnic variety of Spanish and French, respectively, and finally as indicating the likelihood (or possibility, in the case of less balanced bilinguals) of exploiting language choice for political and economic gain. I then describe the family as a whole, contrasting the "type", language attitudes and language choice of the individual subjects, the generations and the implications for that family's construction of their ethnic identity situated in their speech community.

Finally, in Chapter Six I discuss the conclusions reached in a comparison of the larger issues of the two cases, recommendations for future research and limitations of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss issues underlying identity, language attitudes, and language choice. I also outline the historical contexts of the varieties of Spanish and French spoken in San Antonio and Montréal, respectively, to better orient the analysis of the data. In section 2.2 I examine models of ethnicity/acculturation-assimilation upon which this study is based. In section 2.3 I review studies of language attitudes and links to identity and in section 2.4 present a theory of politicization of language choice as strategy for validation of ethnic identity, both of which are used in interpreting the data collected. In section 2.5 I outline the issues of historic importance in each speech community which have also influenced the distribution of power between the English language of the majority and the Spanish and French found in San Antonio and Montréal, respectively, in order to consider the differences in the construction of identity and the use of language by these two families. Section 2.6 is a summary of the chapter.

2.2 CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As stated in Chapter One, the approach to this study of the role of language in the construction of identity was based at first on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) study. In it they proposed a multi-dimensional model which defined a "Chicano" in terms of his/her perceived degree of acculturation and/or assimilation to the majority (Anglo) in California. Their multi-dimensional or neo-pluralistic model represents great advancement over earlier studies of

ethnicity, though it too has grave limitations that will be discussed at length in Chapter Three. These earliest studies are presented first so that the strengths of Keefe and Padilla's model can be examined and so justify the advantages it offered and the reason the present study's questionnaire was modeled after it.

Early models of the changing nature of contact between social groups implied a narrow interpretation of the processes of acculturation, learning the manner and style of the new society, and assimilation, adaptation to the new society, as defined in American anthropology in the 1920's. Acculturation was assumed a prerequisite for assimilation, and both processes were considered not only inevitable but also desirable. In the United States, these twin processes were often called Americanization (or Anglicization). Early on, there were three main models: the single-continuum, the two-culture matrix and the multidimensional model. When it became apparent in the 1960's that acculturation/assimilation was not an inevitable process, social scientists described the model of internal colonialism, especially where complete subordination of certain minority groups occurred, and finally defined pluralism, particularly distinguishing between cultural, social, and structural pluralism.

In his work on cultural assimilation, Gordon (1964) argued that what is called ethnicity results from contact between different cultural groups which are usually defined by language, religion and/or national origin. Unlike early objective models of ethnicity, he emphasized that identity can be self-identification as well as identification forced by others, an important factor for the present study. Cohen (1978) cited the example of an Irish Catholic who identifies

himself as Catholic when in a group of Protestants or Jews, but as an Irishman when with Italians who are also Catholic. Foley (1997) noted that central Texas Czech and German immigrants, who spoke different languages and attended different churches and schools from the Protestant Anglo majority, together constructed a still "white" identity as distinct from Mexicans and blacks of the time. Other early researchers also held that identity can and does react to situations of contact, and that while identity may best be understood at the level of the individual, such an understanding of group behavior is only accessible through an examination of the history and development of the contact between the cultural groups and the growth of non-majority communities and ethnic-inclusive social relations. Finally, Gordon's theory continued that in most societies with any limits on resources, groups predictably become stratified with one assuming dominance over (an)other(s), giving rise to prejudice and discrimination, ethnic-inclusive networks and communities.

Two early studies are of particular interest: Montenegro (1976) had a specific hypothesis: that self-identification implies attitudinal differences. She believed that those who consider themselves "Mexican-American" have given up most of the sociological markers of Mexican identity and in essence have assimilated to the majority (Anglo) culture, while those who call themselves "Chicano" manifest a "somewhat defiant pride in ancestry." She held certain sociological factors as indicators of ethnicity, though she discussed primarily the significance of the name a group called itself, both points significant to the current project. In the second study of particular interest, Murguía (1975) offered

three assimilation models based on Gordon's theories to define ethnicity for Mexican Americans in the United States: Anglo-Conformity, Melting Pot, and Cultural Pluralism, the latter adopted and further developed by Keefe and Padilla.

Keefe and Padilla's multidimensional model of acculturation and assimilation (1987) was chosen to be adapted because in its analysis of both quantitative (n=381) and qualitative (n=24) data from respondents of Mexican origin in three cities in southern California (Santa Barbara, Santa Paula, and Oxnard), it best accounted for a multidimensional continuum in the notion of "Chicano" identity arrayed over two "superfactors," Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty, and an important third consideration, Ethnic Social Orientation. Most previous studies of ethnic identity had been limited to examination of single items to indicate acculturation, such as language ability, generation, intermarriage, dress or self-identification. Keefe and Padilla used seven larger and more complex studies of acculturation and/or ethnic identification as a basis for theirs, drawing primarily from Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976). The two superfactors identified by Keefe and Padilla were conceived as axes further defined by eight dimensions: Respondent's Cultural Heritage, Language Preference, Spouse's Cultural Heritage, Parent's Cultural Heritage, Cultural Identification, Perceived Discrimination, and Ethnic Pride and Affiliation. In theory, this should have been the most applicable analysis for all minority groups because at least it acknowledged that no single continuum emerged from the study; Keefe and Padilla called for a neo-pluralistic model that could accommodate "concurrent states of change and continuity, integration and

pluralism, in ethnicity" (p. 191). Their instrument, a self-report questionnaire, consisted of a series of 136 written questions conceived to reflect the subjects'

> familiarity with the Mexican people and culture through their parents' and spouse's experience as well as his/her own past experience. In addition, it reflects certain preferences in language use, identification with group names...and national orientation to Mexico versus the U.S....an individual's attitudes and feelings concerning Mexican culture, people of Mexican descent, and ethnic discrimination (p. 48).

The first group of questions, which seek to get at the subject's Language Preference, was a self-assessment of the respondent's language preferences, his/her reported language choice in social networks, the names of and language(s) spoken by the respondent's children; questions of the second group examined the Respondent's Cultural Heritage, his/her reported contact with both cultures, his/her claimed fluency in both Spanish and English, his/her professed knowledge of Mexican culture, the claimed identity of peers, his/her legal name and nickname; the third group of questions centered on Parents' Cultural Heritage, including their claimed "label" or identification, legal and preferred names, reported language fluency and usage, and cultural inheritance; the fourth group of questions in the original study reported the respondent's Spouse's Cultural Heritage, his/her identification, language use/fluency and name; the fifth group concerned the respondent's Cultural Identification, his/her perception of Mexico and the U.S, his/her self-identification over lifetime, preference for travel; the sixth group of questions elicited data on Ethnic Social Orientation, reported ethnicity of social networks and preference for and consumption of Mexican food; the seventh group contained questions about Ethnic Pride and Affiliation, including the respondent's perception of Mexican culture and preference for

ethnicity of social network; the eighth and final group of questions concerned Perceived Discrimination, both personal and group/institutionalized.

Keefe and Padilla's data from the questionnaire were factor analyzed as measuring either Cultural Awareness or Ethnic Loyalty according to the neo-pluralistic or multi-dimensional model proposed. Internal variation in ethnic identity as well as changes over generations was examined and quantified in terms of social, cultural and structural assimilation of "Chicanos" to the majority (Anglo) society. Each respondent was then classified by a cluster analysis of cases as one of five types in a continuum of ethnic orientation: from Type I, clearly unacculturated, identifying as Mexican, to Type V, highly Anglicized, identifying little with Mexican culture. As described by Keefe and Padilla, Type III respondents had a moderate amount of heritage cultural awareness and loyalty and some knowledge of Anglo culture, and while they might be considered bicultural, it is significant that they retained their minority identity, were conscious of their heritage and retained at least nominal/ritualistic use of the language variety to affirm ethnicity.

While Keefe and Padilla were examining Spanish-speakers in California specifically in both quantitative and qualitative data reports, the written self-report questionnaire they created elicited essential information on many levels--cultural, social, and structural--as well as attitudes about different components of identity, and so was chosen as the basis of the instrument to be adapted in ways detailed later and used in this current study. Initially, I had hypothesized that the five types of intra-ethnic variation in cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty (and

the significance of social assimilation) derived from their model would be useful in interpreting my own qualitative data from two minority families, their own construction of their identity, their reported language use and their attitudes toward the variety of French or Spanish they speak.

The pluralism implied in the results obtained by Keefe and Padilla and other researchers confirming the heterogeneity of the identity of Americans of Mexican origin will also be interpreted through Le Page's social psychological model of language use (Le Page 1980, 1997; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Le Page's orientation toward language and identity rests on the theory that an individual's linguistic choices are acts of identity. Individuals modify their linguistic behavior in order to be like the group or groups with which they wish to identify and to be unlike the groups with which they do not wish to identify. However, Le Page conceived of four constraints or riders on an individual's linguistic choice: 1) the individual's ability to identify the groups with which s/he wishes to identify, 2) his/her access to these groups and ability to analyze their linguistic behavior, 3) the individual's motivation (positive or negative) to identify with these groups, influenced primarily by feedback from them, and 4) the individual's ability to modify his/her linguistic behavior. The pluralistic instrument adapted for this study also takes into account Le Page's metaphor of a multidimensional sociolinguistic space within which individual speakers move, rather than along a linear continuum, adapting to different situations, interlocutors, and topics of conversation. Since this identity is so often contextual, its creation by the subjects for the researcher in this study, an out-

group member with fair skin, blue eyes and a distinctly English name, will give insights into its complexity.

Le Page conceived of three main factors in an individual's use of language: projection, focus and diffusion. Projection is the speaker's linguistic presentation of self at a given moment, while the nature of these presentations is represented as being either focused, regular, or diffuse, variable.

> Speech acts are acts of projection: the speaker is projecting his inner universe, implicitly with the invitation to others to share it, at least insofar as they recognize his language as an accurate symbolization of the world, and to share his attitude towards it. By verbalizing as he does, he is seeking to reinforce his models of the world, and hopes for acts of solidarity from those with whom he wishes to identify (p. 181).

Language is focused when it is perceived to be distinct as in the development of group identity, when its natural individual variability follows systematic patterns reinforced by positive feedback from others with whom the speaker wishes to identify, usually through intense interaction of group members in solidarity against an external threat (often a more prestigious or otherwise powerful language.) When individuals alter their projections in order to identify with their interlocutors, their linguistic behavior may temporarily become more diffuse, more variable, of no identifiable style, individualistic.

The two aspects of focusing--social and linguistic--distinguish communities or groups along the two dimensions. Those with a separate linguistic code but including a wide variety of individuals are linguistically focused but socially diffuse, as in the creoles of the Cayo District of Belize (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:217). Those with a strong social identity but a language variety not perceived as a part of that identity might be considered

socially focused but linguistically diffuse, as is often the case with Mexican Americans. Francophone Canadians, on the other hand, were historically separated in language, geography and society, and so might still be considered focused both linguistically and socially. In both populations in the current study, external pressure from anglophone society was perceived as a threat. However, the two groups reacted quite differently in response to that threat, for reasons to be examined.

Johnstone (1996) went beyond Le Page's model of linguistic behavior as acts of identity with her speaker-centered approach arguing that linguistic variation is explicable only at the level of the individual speaker. She emphasized the speaker's agency in using language to express identity, seeing language, dialect, and style as resources to be exploited by the speaker rather than as factors that constrain his/her linguistic behavior. Johnstone proposed the need for detailed case studies of individual speakers to complement studies of larger groups or speech communities. For her, an individual's linguistic behavior is viewed as a creative process (of both conscious and unconscious linguistic choices) which can be correlated with social categories such as region, ethnicity, gender but which is not a predictable outcome of his/her membership in various social groups with access to various resources. As noted above, López and Sabaugh (1980:385) stated explicitly that "ethnicity is not a bag of norms producing automatic responses...nor is it a quality one has or lacks...ethnicity is variable and relative, not reducible to black/white categories."

2.3 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, LANGUAGE CHOICE AND IDENTITY

Attitudes speakers have about the variety of language they speak may be an indicator of the likelihood of the detachment of that variety from the speaker's construction of identity. Lambert (1960) pioneered the matched guise format in Montréal to evaluate attitudes toward different languages, dialects, or accents/varieties of the same language, specifically Canadian English and Canadian French in his study. The listeners did not realize that only one group of bilingual speakers was reading both in French and in English. These listeners, or judges, were asked to rate the speakers using Osgood's semantic differential on a series of personality characteristics based on the voices alone. The characteristics they assigned each speaker reflected very well the attitude that each judge held toward the language (or dialect or variety). The English-speaking judges scored the English samples more favorably than the French samples, but so did the French-speaking judges, reflecting the stereotypes of Montréal at the time. A replication of the study in 1963 found a small subgroup of subjects rated the French Canadian guise more highly, reflecting the increasing movement for French-Canadian equality. Judges for whom French identity and solidarity are important tend to view their own varieties more favorably in spite of any prestige accorded a "standard" or national language. Preston (1963) followed the same basic technique with the same basic population but tested in Continental French as well and grouped the eighteen personality traits into three categories: competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. Lambert (1966) tried to pinpoint the age at which many of the attitudes exhibited about language

emerged. His results indicated that in girls, preference for one guise over another appeared at about age twelve but was very much influenced by social class background. It will be interesting to note in my multi-generational study if such a difference in attitude can be observed from the oral interview data I collected. Other later replications of the study, including that of Govaert-Gauthier (1979), indicated that the more Québécois pronunciation, the dominant norm, was rated higher than the *français soigné*, careful (Standard) French, especially by those judges with the least amount of education. Forget (1979) found that in her Montréal subjects, these attitudes were very much tied to class, with the higher class having higher levels of education and more normative judgments, *joual*, or very colloquial spoken Québécois, being identified not as the language of the common people but as a marker of the lowest classes.

Several studies have examined attitudes about the speech of bilingual Spanish-speakers, many of these studies are described in Carranza (1982). A study by Arthur, Farrar and Bradford (1974) focused on the degree standard speech disassociates a minority member from his/her ethnic group as judged by majority group members. Ryan, Carranza and Moffie (1977) examined the effect of a continuum of accentedness on ratings of personality characteristics, formalizing the distinction between status and solidarity, as well as the effect of variation of both speech style and social class background information.

Woolard (1989) based her matched guise study of Castilian and Catalan on the Ryan, Carranza, et al. hypothesis that attitudes about the language could be analyzed to show variation in status and solidarity. Woolard's ethnographic focus

is “the description of the boundaries and relations between these social groups in Barcelona as they are marked and managed by language use” (p. 3). While she found no difficulty in getting subjects to talk about language and ethnicity in Barcelona, the highly political nature of the research questions ensured that there was a received political ideology that overrode individual attitudes. Woolard used five basic kinds of data “culled from a spectrum of informants through a number of techniques...(1) observation of formally organized political events; (2) printed materials gathered daily from periodicals; (3) observation of everyday language and interactional behavior, backed by limited recording of natural discourse; (4) interviews and organized discussions about language and ethnic identity, usually tape-recorded, as well as numerous unrecorded spontaneous discussions; and (5) a quasi-experimental measure of language attitudes” (p. x). The informants were arranged in concentric circles of acquaintance: an inner circle of six, the next of thirty, the next more diverse circle numbered about fifty, the final experimental circle was about two hundred and fifty.

It is her conclusions that are particularly interesting to this study: that the status of a language variety depends on who speaks it, not where it is spoken; that a strong ethnic consciousness is critical in valuing a variety; that a variety’s prestige is dependent on its economic strength; that solidarity is manifested in the language; that the out-group is not rewarded for using that variety if they can be detected as outsiders; and that the in-group can enhance or reduce feelings of solidarity with language choice. While I will not be using a matched guise for this particular study, I anticipate that the attitudes expressed both overtly and

those that can be deduced from the interview data in both San Antonio and Montréal will support Woolard's findings and will provide further insight into the differences in the construction of these two identities.

Woolard's general research questions went beyond a matched guise study of language attitudes and mirrored those of this study: Why are some people able to retain a minority language while other groups lose theirs (in the current study, Québécois and Texas Spanish, respectively?) Some of her specific questions about the situation in Barcelona have been reworked for Montréal and San Antonio, as stated in Chapter One: Why have these varieties survived as long and well as they have, albeit to different degrees, despite the institutional power, prestige and worldwide utility of English? Will these varieties survive longer, used not only as an ethnic language but also by the many English-speaking inhabitants who learn Standard French and Spanish as a foreign language as well as by French- and Spanish-speakers of immigrant origin? What conditions encourage group members to pass these varieties to their children and encourage others to learn these varieties, and under what conditions is such learning constrained? If learned, in what circumstances will these varieties actually be used by those of English-speaking origin? Can language planners and policymakers alter circumstances to encourage such acquisition and use, and should they?

Woolard (1989) named language "a key symbol of ethnic identity, a marker that summarizes a number of perceived differences between groups of people" (p. 1). In Barcelona in the past century, the Catalan language has served

as a prime symbolic resource of Catalan nationalism much as Québécois has in the francophone area of Canada. Woolard's aim was to identify the link between everyday linguistic behaviors of the two groups in the community and the social system in which these behaviors were embedded in order "to understand the relationship between the public and personal meanings of the linguistic practices that fire Catalan nationalism" (p. 2). Her focus was on "the symbolic values that attach to the two languages and mediate between structural changes and individual choices" (p. 5).

These symbolic social values conceptualized by linguists, anthropologists and social psychologists are often presented as two independent axes governing social relations as well as language use, not unlike the axes presented above in models of acculturation and assimilation. The first, usually visualized as a vertical axis, has most often been labeled *prestige*, but also dominance, power, status, instrumental motivation, or negative face. The second, horizontal, axis is labeled *solidarity*, or covert prestige, social bonding, positive face or integrative motivation. Woolard maintained that these two axes, in particular that of prestige, are problematic, noting particularly that Fishman recommended serious qualification and redefinition of the concept of language prestige. She proposed to demonstrate further analytical distinctions in the vertical axis of prestige in order to relate it to various forms of dominance in human social organization.

In her discussion of the difficulties of defining ethnicity, Woolard was first concerned that the primordial/aboriginal sentiment particular of anthropologists was too narrowly focused on the individual, (echoing Gordon but

reframed by Johnstone, as discussed above.) She took the position that "politicized manifestations of ethnicity are not a reflex of conservatism or a retreat to outmoded political forms, but modern innovations and adaptations to contemporary political institutions" (p. 7). However, contrasting views of ethnicity as a reflex of economic or political interest were too often focused on the elite. Woolard emphasized that ethnicity should be seen in the different contexts of individual and group experience, each reflecting back on and constraining the other in a process of increasing differentiation of social groups. She saw ethnicity as "an emergent phenomenon, growing out of the interaction of social beings in a political and economic context" (p. 8). She cited the central focus of her Barcelona study as the psychological, social and political aspects of life as organized by ethnicity. Secondly, Woolard pointed out that the complexity of modern society engendered ambiguity in the meaning of key symbols, symbols which different groups can then exploit to express conflict in a meaningful way, foreshadowing Heller's work. Finally, she affirmed that ethnicity, and particularly ethnic politics, is not a single process but several distinct processes that may change from phase to phase. "The same ethnic symbols may be used to organize different segments of society and to articulate different conflicts at different times" (p. 9).

Woolard gave a five-part definition of "Catalan," which was a point of departure for the instrument of my study. Legally, any Spanish citizen who has administrative residence in any municipality of Catalonia is Catalan according to the Statute of Autonomy of 1932, which was reinstated in the Statute of 1979.

Popularly, there are four alternate criteria: birthplace, descent, sentiment/behavior and, the most commonly used and most powerful criterion, language. The first two criteria are dominant in the immigrant-origin areas though the claims are not anecdotally supported as incorporated into the psyche of second-generation Castilian immigrants. The third criterion, sentimental allegiance to Catalonia, is used in two very different ways. Catalan nationalists assert the necessity of language, customs and institutions even if one is of Catalan descent for generations (which denies membership to the upper bourgeoisie who shifted to the use of Castilian and who oriented socially and politically to Madrid in the late 19th and 20th centuries). Secondly, first-generation immigrants cite emotional loyalty as the most important criterion of Catalan identity to gain membership to this group. Most importantly, however, a Catalan is a person who uses the Catalan language in a native-like way as a first, home and/or habitual language (not necessarily the definition given when people are asked directly, but one which emerged consistently in all discussions across the board).

For Woolard, ethnic identity can carry important consequences for the life chances of individuals in the Barcelona area. She noted discrimination, occupational and residential segregation, personal dilemmas of identity, citing several specific example of how individuals resolved these issues (or failed to). Thus, some people can "feel Catalan" but not "be Catalan" at the same time while others "are Catalan" but not "Catalan Catalan," a distinction that will prove helpful in analyzing the situation of Texas Spanish speakers.

Woolard saw language use as a key determinant of ethnic group membership: people are identified as Catalan or Castilian based on the language they speak. However, nearly all Catalan-speakers in Barcelona are bilingual, fully proficient in Castilian, many using it in their daily routines; on the other hand, between 25% to 30% of Castilian-speakers actively employ Catalan on some occasions. Woolard outlined the theoretical problems concerning linguistic prestige or status and solidarity, terms she had wanted to qualify and redefine. She drew the distinction between two different (though often closely associated) derivations of prestige, from the economic status of its speakers and from its functional distribution across domains of use, especially in education and mass media. She argued that the greater economic power of Catalans was the basis for the assignment of linguistic prestige. She also cited as critical factors the strong national consciousness of Catalonia and organized political resistance to Castilian rule, as expressed by the Catalan population in the refusal to recognize the legitimacy of Castilian power. Since there was no difference in attitudes in the status ratings, Catalan recognized by both groups as the more prestigious, Woolard argued that the greater prestige co-varies with the political nationalism found in Catalonia, but does not depend on it. Both prestige and nationalism depend on the economic strength of the region and its natives. One cannot make assumptions about attitudes toward a language's prestige based on institutional hegemony. If one wishes to change attitudes toward a language in order to affect behavior (mother-tongue education or English-only-type movements), institutional policy will not be sufficient.

Solidarity operates according to a different logic, according to Woolard. Subjects negatively sanction linguistic cooptation by members of their own linguistic group though they be relatively indifferent to the language of the other group. In-group members are rewarded for loyalty to the group language and penalized for betraying it. Outgroup members are not rewarded for trying to use the other language when it can be detected that they are outsiders, despite preference for hearing one's own language. Further, idiosyncratic personality traits in individual speakers are not attributed solely along linguistic group lines. However, in-group members can enhance or reduce solidarity by manipulation of language choice although outgroup members cannot. This could be a critical factor in determining patterns of language acquisition and use.

Woolard examined the effect of these language attitudes on language behavior in Barcelona and considered their implications for ethnolinguistic problems encountered in other settings. In fact, as evidenced by the test, Catalan is not a low-prestige language. In addition to symbolizing group solidarity, it symbolizes high status. Woolard explained the lack of code-switching among Catalans by this fact. There would be no additional prestigious connotations to motivate a switch to Castilian for rhetorical effect, indeed there is a penalty for doing so. Not only do Catalans maintain their language for this reason, but also Castilians want their children to learn Catalan. Why have young Castilians not adopted Catalan in greater numbers? Woolard posited that it is because there is no increased social acceptance from the target group to compensate for the penalty imposed by the original group when a speaker whose linguistic origins are

still identifiable attempts the other language. The two linguistic groups do not recruit new members from across the linguistic boundaries.

So, who learns Catalan? It is highly unusual for one to learn it if one is an outsider since the traditional accommodation norm is to switch to Castilian with a speaker who reveals a Castilian identity, or who indeed is "foreign", or not Catalan. A Catalan social network was practically the only way to acquire active competence in Catalan. Most outgroup members who make such efforts to learn Catalan did so to feel fully integrated into Catalonia and, most importantly, for social and economic advantage. Sometimes, networks established in the workplace or in voluntary organization induce Castilians to learn to speak Catalan, although many, especially Barcelona-born Castilians, feel that social background and ethnicity are insurmountably exclusive keys to higher social status. In general, when language and social class divisions coincide, pressures of linguistic assimilation may be interpreted as part of a larger class conflict. Woolard claimed that first generation immigrants are more likely than native-born to attempt to learn Catalan because they are forced to redefine their social identity and network of social relations when they come to Catalonia. They have little risk in exploring different group memberships and identities symbolized by language, unlike native-borns who have an established identity and social network they would have to forsake. "Language values affect language behavior, but their impact is mediated by the individual actor's sense of the relative authority of these values in his or her life" (p. 137).

'Linguistic insecurity' was another factor considered in the analyses of language attitude and language choice and their implications in the link of a specific linguistic variety to ethnic identity. Labov (1972) defined linguistic insecurity as a hypersensitivity to stigmatized features, fluctuation in stylistic variation and inaccurate perception of their own speech on the part of the lower middle class respondents he was studying in New York City. Linguistic insecurity based on linguistic (in)competence or on social factors such as group membership and social hierarchy was indexed as "an extreme tendency towards correction to the status norm" (p. 130). This attitude often leads to an attempt by those who speak a "non-standard" variety of a language, or who question their claim to group membership, to follow the norm of a prestige or high status variety/style/language. Many studies have been carried out in multi-lingual or bilingual/diglossic communities, particularly among the L2 speakers of the prestige language or language variety: in Belgium, Switzerland, Alsace, Québec, Sénégal, Burkhino-Faso, Costa Rica, Lebanon, etc. Linguistic hypersensitivity is often marked by hypercorrection, which may be a factor in linguistic change, as was the case of the lower middle class pronunciation of (r) in New York City. This hypersensitivity is most clearly exemplified in the conscious statements of speakers as well as their unconscious behavior (reformulations, truncation, hesitation).

2.4 POLITICIZATION OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

The third body of literature, overlapping the previous two, that I will use in the analysis of my data exploring the construction of identity centers on

language choice. Monica Heller has discussed language choice as a political strategy in the mobilization of French-Canadians in Quebec and Ontario since the passage in 1977 of Bill 101, which legislated the use of French in business and government. In the introduction of her article "The politics of codeswitching and language choice" (1992) she stated:

> ...the study of the distribution and use of language choices in multilingual communities (choices which include but are not limited to codeswitching) can reveal not only the extent of stability of intergroup relations, but, perhaps more importantly, it can reveal the ways in which the regulation of access to symbolic resources is tied to the regulation of access to material ones (p. 123).

Three articles in particular are of interest since in each one she looked at language choice from a different point of view. In the first article (1978), Heller was primarily concerned with the intricate psychosociological processes of negotiating which language to use in bilingual Montréal in the 1970's. In the second (1988), she examined not only language choice, per se, but also codeswitching--a strategy not historically possible in Montréal or Toronto because of limited interaction between anglophones and francophones--and some different uses of it to maintain or blur in-group/out-group boundaries. Finally, in (1992), Heller intensified her analysis of the motivation behind both language choice and codeswitching to state that in post-1960's Quebec and more recently in Ontario, language choice had become a political strategy of ethnic (francophone) mobilization. In fact, Heller's closing statement seemed to imply that every language choice is politically motivated.

> ...the study of language choice and codeswitching can shed light on the ways in which groups struggle over resources, and on the ways in which

> individual members of a community contribute to that struggle by creatively and strategically exploiting their linguistic resources in key interactions (p. 139).

In all these articles Heller examined the historical background essential to understanding the socioeconomic situation of francophones in relation to anglophones in Québec before 1960. In brief, Québec was originally a French colony that was handed over to the English in 1763, more than 100 years after its establishment. The French who remained in Québec at this time were primarily members of an agricultural society and of the Catholic church; the British formed an urban Protestant ruling class. These separate identities and populations were maintained geographically even in the cities, and this isolation was reinforced by the duplication of all cultural institutions including churches, schools, hospitals and department stores. There was little interaction and rare bilingualism, primarily only when francophones entered the anglophone business world. In addition to the socioeconomic power the anglophone community wielded in Québec, English had become the dominant language in Canada at large, it was the language of the most influential neighbor, the United States, and was the language of assimilation for most immigrants.

By the 1960's, however, a rise in the standard of living, an increase in the level of education, and a decline in influence of the Catholic church produced a new francophone class that wanted not to assimilate to the anglophone population, but to replace it. To achieve that goal, the francophone community had to mobilize their solidarity and find a way to "value" their identity: they legislated the use of French language in business and provincial governments

where it had never been used before. Heller tied the shift of power from the use of English to the use of French to Bourdieu's theory of available symbolic and material resources, stating that dominant groups control who participates and what is valued or legitimized while subordinated groups either acquiesce or resist. Conventional language use--whether it be one language or another, codeswitching or its absence--represents stable relations of power while unconventional patterns of language use can be seen as forcing a change in the power relationship. The dominant group requires certain linguistic and cultural knowledge to get in; the subordinated group has to accept these linguistic rules as conventional and not arbitrary rules the dominant group has set up just to maintain power, which would assume collusion and would ignore any individual power to redefine social interaction. By resisting the use of English as conventional, francophones opted to exploit language choice and codeswitching to draw on symbolic resources, which in turn are used to gain access to other material resources.

Heller concluded that codeswitching is one of the strategies used in the process of realigning a power relationship between two ethnic groups. New conventions of language use have created access to the redistributed resources once controlled by one group, the anglophones, now controlled by the other, the francophones. Bilingualism has become newly sought after by the élite to gain or retain access to privileged positions of power. And a new symbolic linguistic resource, standard Canadian French, is now essential not only to powerful anglophones but also to relatively powerless groups such as native peoples and immigrants. While it is clear that the linguistic as well as socio-economic and

political situations in Quebec are radically different today from what they were pre-1977 before the passage of this legislation, and, as I will discuss in the next section, the historical context in San Antonio is certainly different, I want to explore further this third analysis: that language choice embodies a political identity.

2.5 HISTORY OF THE SPEECH COMMUNITIES

Both the Spanish spoken in Texas and the French spoken in Québéc are languages established on this continent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which evolved in relative isolation from the original national languages, unchecked by any norms as might be established by the King, an Academy, an early body of literature, and/or social constraints of the community. Both are contact varieties with strong Anglo/American and Amerindian influences particularly in the lexicon. Both are languages of what became a social minority after the rise of Anglo dominance: predominantly Catholic in a Protestant majority, agricultural in an increasingly educated and industrial majority. Both varieties share many phonological tendencies that characterize predominantly spoken varieties around the world such as metatheses, syncope of unaccented syllables, and shifts in point and manner of articulation. Both varieties are often characterized as having archaic features as well as a simplified syntax, i.e. regularizing many irregular verb paradigms and narrowing or eliminating the use of the subjunctive mood. Contrary to popular opinion, this simplification is not due solely to contact with English since it is also noted in many spoken languages, including creoles, which have no English influence, and, in addition,

was observed in the Old French and Old Spanish of the 16th century. The tendency toward simplification was in all likelihood part of the language brought to the continent in the first place. The lexicons of both language varieties are marked by a number of archaisms that also date to the original languages.

A description of the respective speech communities provides the necessary context for analyzing the data if indeed an understanding of group behavior is only accessible through an examination of contact between the cultural groups. Section 2.5.1 examines the historical, social, and linguistic context of the variety of Spanish spoken in Texas and some specifics of San Antonio. Section 2.5.2 similarly examines Montréal and the variety of French called Québécois. Section 2.5.3 compares the similarities and differences of the two speech communities on a larger scale.

2.5.1 San Antonio

Texas Spanish often is cast as impoverished in vocabulary, deficient in grammar and a generally "corrupt" form of Spanish mixed with English. It might be more accurate and certainly less judgmental to describe it as Lance (1975) did: a language variety that is

> very much like that of other people who have not received the amount and kind of education required to instruct the children of the speech community in the proper use of the King's or Academy's language...The speech of the uneducated is generally much more conservative than that of the well schooled (pp. 38, 42).

As most researchers have pointed out, Spanish speakers have inhabited the Southwest since the very end of the 16th century, building on the linguistically diverse foundation of the indigenous languages. Gómez and Cerda (1979) trace

the foundation of Texas Spanish to the late 17th and early 18th centuries by the *conquistadores* and the *frailes misioneros* of the Catholic Church who "bequeathed and instilled their religion, customs, traditions, and most particularly, their language to the natives" (p. 41). There were more than 20 different native languages in the San Antonio area alone; the intermarriage of speakers of these native languages and Spaniards (and others found at the time in what is now Texas) resulted in a large *mestizo*-based population. This first blending of peoples resulted in the dominance of the Spanish language and culture, but many elements of the Amerind were bound into both. A tradition of education in Spanish continued into the early 1800's until annexation of the area by the United States when English became the dominant language of society. Even into the early 1930's, however, *escuelitas* existed along the Rio Grande border, where instruction was given in the variety of Spanish prevalent in Mexico at the time.

In the brief history offered by Nava (1970), he recounted how the Mexicans at the time of Texas independence were dispossessed of their lands by various means and kept from participating in the judicial and legislative processes through their lack of English skills or reading skills. The picture in education is just as bleak, where Nava cited widespread prejudice and exclusion, which he attributed as one factor in the failure of this minority to assimilate into the majority culture. As cited by Nava and others, from the time of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and World War I, the Southwest saw active recruitment of labor from Mexico, labor viewed as expendable, to be deported when no longer required. After 1945, the U.S. set up a formal program to bring in cheap labor,

the *bracero*, and the "green card." World War II brought Spanish speakers in Texas more opportunities for education and housing, and by the 1960's about 80% lived in urban areas of the U.S. Nava attributed proximity with Mexico as the main reason that Texas Spanish speakers have not assimilated to Anglo majority society to any extent.

Sawyer (1975) offered a brief history of the Mexican immigrants into the San Antonio area during the late 1800's and early 1900's. The typical Spanish-speaking immigrants from Mexico were laborers or farmers directly recruited to work as cheap labor to supply the demands of a rapidly growing urban population. Their children went to public schools in English, but the immigrants themselves probably had very little reason to acclimate to the new culture as the original Spanish colonists had maintained a large legacy of customs, religion, and language. She contended that second and third generation Texas Spanish speakers wanted equal opportunities as citizens, but most had not acculturated to Anglo society in spite of education in English in the public schools

Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia (1985) cited a powerful socio-cultural matrix, coupled with the often opposing life styles of Chicanos and Anglos, that has militated against both the destruction of Spanish and its "creolization" by English. They described a stable bilingualism perpetuated by the recognition that English is necessary for upward mobility and by ancestral ties to Hispanic language and culture through different degrees of contact with Mexico. The geographic proximity of Mexico and continued migration of Mexicans have insured a renewal of Mexican identity within the people who have been in Texas

for generations and have maintained the antipathy of these people to deny that heritage in order to totally assimilate to the Anglo culture, though they have adapted to it in varying degrees evidenced in both the culture and in the language.

As Souflée (1979) pointed out in his examination of biculturalism, some people of Mexican descent living in the U.S. have not assimilated to any large degree after six generations. He referred to "la cultura chicana" as a synthesis of the Indo-Hispanic and Anglo-American cultures.

> Biculturalism is the process by which members of the subordinate group maintain cultural integrity and authenticity, while at the same time developing the capacity to interface constructively with the dominant group without being co-opted...a process defined by the cultural minority...a negative response, and rejection of assimilation...These Mexican and American cultural attributes selected and synthesized are redefined in the process, and emerge neither as Mexican nor as American, but as Chicano, cultural attributes. The fusion is psychological, both cognitive and affective, and is expressed behaviorally (pp. 22, 37).

Elizondo (1988) captured the sentiments of many Mexican Americans:

> Whether in Mexico or the U.S. we are always the distant and different "other." The core of our existence is to be "other" or to "not be" in relation to those who are...I lived on the border between two nationalities. I was an inside-outsider to both. I was "Mexican" in the U.S. and gringo/pocho in Mexico. There was a painful side to it, for it is difficult to always be different, but there was also an enjoyable side to it; I had a lot more options and could move easily in and out of two worlds. For as much as I loved the Mexican side of me, I never really disliked or hated the Anglo side, which I was making my own in the schools...I was not and would never be, even if I wanted to, a regular U.S.-American. Yet neither would I be a puro mexicano. There were identities that I knew that I was and was not at the same time: U.S.-American, Mexican, Spanish, Indian...My very being was a combination...I was not just U.S.-American and not just Mexican but fully both and exclusively neither...I lived in two worlds, and the two worlds lived in me...We were an emerging people whose identity had not yet been named (pp. 20-21, 26).

In a more recent study of a more micro-sociolinguistic nature, the speech community of San Antonio is described by MaryEllen García (1995) as a long-standing and stable Spanish-speaking community suggesting to her a situation of language contraction, a gradual restriction of the domains of Spanish language use, rather than rapid shift and death of the minority language. San Antonio is the third largest city in Texas with a population of about one million, 53% Hispanic, in an area of 300 square miles. There are two Spanish-language television stations and one Spanish-language newspaper. Some competence in Spanish is expected of Spanish-surnamed and Hispanic-looking individuals in San Antonio as affirmation of one's Hispanic heritage. Spanish is used as a marker of in-group solidarity with other Hispanics, even if it is only to inject a few phrases in a predominantly English exchange. Spanish-speakers aged 30 and older tend to be more fluent and less self-conscious. For the most part they grew up in the lower income neighborhoods of the West Side, which are predominantly Hispanic, and in which Spanish language use is maintained in the home. Younger speakers, usually raised in second- and third-generation bilingual households, some in the more heterogeneous and affluent Northside neighborhoods, tend to be English-dominant. Community norms for certain grammatical features appear to be strong. The influence of a prescriptive, monolingual standard is not widespread. Even the majority of bilingual teachers in the community, who tend to be drawn from the local population, have not been significantly influenced by college courses that call attention to standard Spanish and the need for acquisition of a separate, formal register, most probably because there is no perceived need to use

it. The other large groups of native speakers at the college level in San Antonio are from northern Mexican border cities. They do evaluate Southwest Spanish features found in San Antonio Spanish negatively, at times openly so.

Features of San Antonio Spanish cited by García include: ***la*** *problema* (Standard Spanish: ***el*** *problema*) and other masculine gender words ending in *-a*; fuistes (Stan. Spanish: *fuiste*) for an analogical 2nd person singular preterite verb ending or *puédanos /vuélvanos* (Stan. Span.: *podamos*, *volvamos*) for 1st person plural present subjunctive; variability of analogical verb stems in *pedir/pidir, decir/dicir*, *pueder/poder*, *juegar/jugar* (Stan.Span.: *pedir*, *decir*, *poder*, *jugar*); the reduction of the definite article before vowels in ***l****'otro,* ***l****'agua* (***el*** *otro*, ***el*** *agua*); incorporated borrowings as *la bacha* (Stan. Span.: *la placa*) for 'the badge' or *las nuevas* (Stan. Span.: *las noticias*) for 'the news'; a plural marker of *-ses* after stressed vowels in *papases* and *cafeses* (*los papás*, *los cafés*).

Attitudes about a language have impact on the entire speech community, though particularly varieties of that language that are socially stigmatized. Ofelia García (1993) analyzed the way Spanish language policy in the U.S. has been guided by attitudes about the language, attitudes of Spanish-speakers themselves as well as of the English-speaking majority, language teachers in particular. This unwritten language policy, identified by García in five periods roughly equivalent to the history outlined above, has in turn influenced attitudes about Spanish. She contrasted the role of Spanish in high culture, Goya art, which has not historically been made available to Latinos in this country, with its role in popular culture, Goya beans, which has not been valued in this country. In either role, Spanish

language has not been available very long as a respectable symbol of identity in Anglo society; to move up, to get an education, to get a job, U.S. Latinos have been forced to give up their cultural and linguistic heritage.

During the first period that García identified, the Colonial period and early years of our nation, 1699-1840's, Spanish was used and learned in order to trade with Latin America and to convert the native peoples to Christianity. As García stated: "[the main feature of the unwritten Spanish language policy was] to expand U.S. influence over Latin America" (p. 73).

The second period that García identified was the 19th century, during which Spanish was used for conquest, for the annexation of vast territory. It was during this time in particular that the differentiation was made between the elite Castilian (white Western European) Spanish of the educated and the 'debased' Spanish language variety of the uneducated Latinos (most of whom were considered non-white) of the conquered Southwest and Cuba/Puerto Rico. It is significant to note that here began the tradition that only Castilian Spanish was to be taught to only Anglos and only for literary value.

During the early 20th century, García's third period in the history of Spanish in the U.S., focus once again shifted to Latin America as an extension of the "empire." Expansion into South American markets rich with natural resources to be exploited and the opening of the Panamá Canal and other trade routes encouraged the teaching of Spanish. However, Spanish was also being recognized as the language of the poor and non-white in New York as well as in the Southwest. The emerging profession of Spanish language teaching, led by the

American Association of Teachers of Spanish established in 1917, reflected general language attitudes of the time: the only good Spanish was Castilian Spanish; there was little professional communication with or about Latin America. Toward the mid-20th century, even Spanish for imperialism had waned in popularity as Spanish increasingly became identified with U.S. Hispanics.

During the Civil Rights era, 1968-1980, Latinos joined with African Americans in demanding equal rights. Spanish was finally acknowledged by Latinos and Anglos alike in its role in identity, but to the English-speaking majority, it became a "problem" to be remedied with bilingual education programs. It was at this point that linguistic and cultural assimilation into Anglo society became "the" way to success; the bilingual Latino professional was the transition, not the goal. Language became the sole reason for the socio-economic failure of Latinos, any role of other societal factors was discounted. To counter the negative linguistic image and its assigned role as the cause of Latino failure, the Spanish language profession began actively asserting Spanish as a resource, not a problem, and encouraged for really the first time the teaching of Spanish to native speakers. This promotion of the U.S. variety of Spanish however served to further distinguish it from the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Now U.S. Spanish was denigrated not only as the cause of social and economic problems but also as a defective variety, hybridized, reduced and restricted in its usage.

Ultra-conservative English- and Spanish-speakers alike encouraged the English Only movement of the 1980's. In the beginning of this final period that García outlined, the Spanish language professionals accepted the limited role of

U.S. Spanish as an instrument of communication with newly-arrived monolingual Spanish-speakers needing primarily social services, once again reinforcing the push for U.S. Latinos to assimilate linguistically. García outlined the shift from teaching all Latinos, in addition to English, Spanish "in its full historical, cultural and literary expression" (p. 80) to English-only immersion programs. She saw this shift as only slightly more alarming than the weakening of the link between Spanish and Latino identity which occurs in dual language programs. These programs in which both Latino and Anglo children learn in both English and Spanish "[take] Spanish away from Latino lips and souls and [spread] it thin among everybody" (p. 80). García viewed as abandonment the Spanish language profession's adoption of English Plus, which promotes bilingualism in English and one other language for all. (That she perceived it as promoting specifically Spanish-English bilingualism is in itself telling). This move to promote Spanish has failed, she asserted: Spanish is associated with failure and strife; despite record high enrollment only 6% of high school students have more than 2 years of foreign language instruction; Spanish has the lowest retention rates of all commonly taught modern languages.

Finally, García predicted the end of Spanish, particularly U.S. Spanish, as an economic resource in the 21st century unless it becomes accepted as a symbol of Latino identity. She called on the U.S. Spanish language profession to strengthen the position of the language by "cultivating its U.S. ethnic character with the culture, history and literature of the Spanish speaking world and by promoting it for the enrichment of U.S. Latinos" (p. 81). For García, expanding

Spanish to the Anglo majority is useless; U.S. Spanish can link Latinos to their deeper identity only by insisting on an identity recognized within all the Spanish-speaking world, only by claiming both the historical and cultural heritage of the Goya art and the communicative function and folklore of the Goya beans.

Gynan (1993) in his analysis of 10 years of the publications of US ENGLISH Update showed that the main focus of the group is the restriction of the use of Spanish in the United States. Gynan claimed that this policy objective is rooted in language attitudes based on impressions and hearsay, such as the assertion that US Spanish-speakers are not willing to learn English because of bilingual education. While US ENGLISH claims to support only constituency- and state-benefit-based language policies, it in fact advocates the elimination of ad hoc clientele-based language policy. Gynan concluded that the ultimate goal of some individuals of US ENGLISH is to reduce the public use of Spanish since that verbal behavior has led them to become anxious about the status of English.

Gynan cited three developments which began in the 1970's to explain the English only movement that US ENGLISH advocates. First and most important is the dramatic increase in the proportion of Spanish-speakers in the US population. Secondly, bilingual education has brought significant changes in public education which seem to some to threaten the hegemony of English. Finally, the huge ideological shift leading to Reagan-Bush victories provided an environment ideal for the development of a more conservative attitude about language policy.

Gynan pointed to studies of language attitudes and language behavior and studies of cognitive social psychological principles to explain how the leadership of US ENGLISH draws its membership.

> If an individual is similar then one feels comfortable with that person, because of the assumption that the two have other traits in common. The actions of that person are perceived to be more predictable...One may assume...that people who speak a different language variety, differ in other unknown ways...US ENGLISH has elaborated a political answer to the fears of apparently millions of Americans of linguistic change and consequent uncertainty. An assault on the status of the symbol of the group is an assault on the collective self-concept (pp. 3,4).

Gynan concluded that wide-spread fears of change brought by Hispanics to the U.S. have spurred the development of the policies proposed by US ENGLISH. The newsletter has published a combination of fact and fiction that feeds these fears. A close look at research refutes the fiction that the organization disseminates.

The historical roots of Anglo attitudes toward Texans of Mexican origin have been documented by Foley (1997). He noted that issues of race and racialization of identity surfaced soon after the establishment in central Texas of a colony of white immigrants from Missouri in 1821 by Moses Austin and his son, Stephen F. Austin. The stated objective of the colony was to raise cotton and sugar; the Mexican government at the time, having just won independence from Spain, saw the farmers as a buffer against Indians and unchecked migration from the United States. The colonists at first were loyal citizens of Mexico who learned Spanish with relatively few but peaceful interactions with Tejanos (Mexican Texans), but by 1831, white immigrants (arriving with their slaves

primarily from the upper and lower South to raise cotton) outnumbered the Mexican population and began to revolt against Mexico's anti-slavery laws. The first constitution of the Republic of Texas guaranteed the protection of slavery; from the beginning, Indians and free blacks were denied rights accorded to whites while Mexicans fell somewhere between nonwhite Indians and marginally white Spanish. Only by insisting on their Spanish heritage and the absence of black blood were some Mexicans able to buy land in the new republic. "Whiteness" then was inscribed in Texas law from the beginning as a requirement of citizenship rights and landownership. Although many Mexicans had lived in the state for generations before the Austin colony, they were still regarded as alien in their culture, their religion, and their race. After the Civil War, former slaves and Mexican vaqueros worked together on plantations and cotton ranches in central Texas, but San Antonio especially was home to the largest population of Mexicans. Foley contended that the racialization of Mexicans as non-whites or hybrid "in-betweens" came as a result of the role Mexican workers played in the Texas economy after 1900.

> By 1913 Irish immigrants and other European ethnic groups had managed to become white Americans...[by embracing] the values of white supremacy in return for access to white power and privilege...Mexicans, including Mexican Americans, had become, like the Chinese, a culturally and biologically inferior alien race...[For most white Texans] Mexicans were 'basically Indian' and carried in their veins a strain of Negro blood derived from black slaves carried to Mexico from Africa and the West Indies. By the 'one-drop rule' of the South, Mexicans were blacks, and intermarriage between Mexicans and whites was thus leading to a 'distressing process of mongrelization' (pp. 44, 54).

As Foley pointed out, "Underlying the nativists' concern over Mexican immigration was the fear of losing control of their culture, of having it transformed by the presence of an alien and nonwhite 'other'" (p. 55). On the other hand, Mexican immigration to Texas created divisions between newcomer immigrants and Texas Mexicans (Tejanos) since Anglos didn't distinguish between the two groups. Intra-ethnic discrimination was also learned before coming to Texas in class disputes in Mexico of the late 1800 and early 1900's. Between 1900 and 1940 the immigration of Mexicans into the black-white economy of central Texas cotton further divided whiteness, emphasizing existing distinctions between white landowners, white tenants, and white sharecroppers. The Bracero program between 1942-64 stimulated massive immigration of undocumented Mexican workers, which led Mexican Americans of the 1930's and 40's to begin insisting on their "whiteness," come again into question with the 1930 U.S. census, which established a separate category of 'Mexican'. Part of the rationale in some cities was to improve infant-mortality rates which could be improved dramatically by counting Mexicans as non-white. Mexican identity was also dividing along class lines with many middle-class Texas Mexicans constructing identities as Americans and embracing whiteness. According to Foley, Mexican Americans realize even today that policies aimed at Mexican immigrants continue to affect their own social and ethnoracial status in American society.

Though many researchers discuss the bilingual/bicultural nature of people who speak Texas Spanish, there is no consensus about how to refer to such people

or their language. There is great heterogeneity among all peoples of Mexican descent living in the United States, among their attitudes and their varieties of language. The differences in idioms and lexicon are often compared to the differences between British and American English, and no one would argue that Texan English is very different from that spoken in New York. However, there are no differences so extreme as to prevent communication. Distinctive patterns of language use, particularly the linguistic manifestation of bilingualism and biculturalism called code-switching or blending, are recognized by most researchers as characteristic of Texas Spanish.

What is the future of Texas Spanish? Texas Spanish, according to some researchers, remains essentially Spanish in form and is comprehensible to most other Spanish-speakers. Further, Texas Spanish is a viable variety, still widely spoken, primarily because it has become a symbolic marker of identity among its speakers who have until now resisted assimilation to the Anglo culture whose Mexican origin is constantly renewed by continued immigration. According to statistics cited by Solé (1995) Spanish-speakers are the largest non-English-speaking minority in the United States, and one-third of the Hispanic southwestern population resides in Texas. More than half of the Hispanics in Texas have elementary schooling only, remaining concentrated in the lower occupational categories. For Solé, the rise of ethnic consciousness among Mexican Americans in the 1960's was not a result of the need to maintain ethnic authenticity or resist assimilation per se, rather it resulted from their profoundly disadvantaged socioeconomic and educational status.

> Spanish became a symbol not of affective historical ties but of decades-long linguistic oppression and suppression in schools, courts, medical services, communications, emergency services, and the political arena (p. 114).

Solé attributed the persistence of Spanish in the Southwest to a large concentration of native speakers and bilinguals, to geographic proximity to and continued migration from Mexico, to segregation from mainstream society, and to strong ethnic boundaries of inter-group relations. Solé stated that medium and high income among Hispanics have led to a bilingual norm, rather than English monolingualism. According to her analyses, English competence "covaries in order of importance first with educational attainment, second with occupational status, and, contrary to expectations, last with income level" (p. 120). Low socioeconomic status impedes English competence, which, in turn, slows language shift since some proficiency in Spanish is required to communicate with newcomers and older generations. "The lowest Spanish displacement rates among children occur in Texas, where they affect only one child out of every five" (p. 121). The long-range projections indicate a slow but progressive replacement of the ethnic language, but the dual patterns of language maintenance and language shift are at play. Linguistic nationalism, rooted in democratic nineteenth-century capitalism, deethnicizes and reethnicizes immigrant minorities into the mainstream sociocultural identity. Rurality, geographic proximity, and population density of the minority group effectively isolate and segregate it from the assimilating forces. Speakers of Texas Spanish and other minority languages in the United States seek social improvement in mainstream processes to mobilize the group at large toward national integration.

In a macro-sociolinguistic interpretation of statistics gathered on Spanish language maintenance in five states, Hudson et al. (1995) gathered statistics from the U.S. Census to propose four measures used to analyze language maintenance and shift in order to examine the relationship of these four measures to several socioeconomic and demographic variables. They then assessed the value of these sixteen variables in predicting the four measures: frequency of language claiming, density of minority language speakers, language loyalty, and intergenerational transmission. They found that the count, the actual numbers of Spanish claimants, is most closely related to the size of the Spanish origin population which is itself a function of the number of individuals born in Mexico. Maintenance of Spanish in the Southwest is heavily dependent on the immigration of native speakers from Mexico. Density, the concentration of Spanish speakers in any given county, ensures the cultural context for nurturing Spanish language acquisition, providing meaningful opportunities to use it. This nurturing cultural context in turn encourages retention, the stability of Spanish claiming across generations. Sociocultural assimilation has a negative effect on language loyalty, language maintenance relative to the size of the ethnic group as a whole, and ultimately on retention. The higher the educational level of the Spanish origin population, the lower the loyalty and retention rates.

> The disproportionate representation of Spanish claiming communities in the lower socioeconomic strata of American society may to some degree safeguard them against the full effects of linguistic assimilation, but to the extent that they gain more open access to quality education, to political power, and to economic prosperity, they will do so, it seems, at the price of the maintenance of Spanish, even in the home domain (p. 182).

2.5.2 Montréal

According to Grescoe (2000), Québec is the largest province in Canada, nearly three times the size of France, but some 60% of the 7.5 million inhabitants live in a narrow corridor within a few miles of the St. Lawrence River. The region was explored by Jacques Cartier in 1534 but not settled until 1608. The English victory on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec City in 1759 led to the withdrawal of French troops. Francophone Québécois now account for 84% of the total provincial population and 20% of that of Canada.

Dulong's (1990) account of the history of the region begins with the founding of Québec (City) in 1608, Trois-Rivières in 1634, and Montréal in 1642. New France grew very slowly except between 1655 and 1672 when its population doubled from 3200 to 6700 people. Since all of France was still speaking regional dialects (fewer than one third of the citizens interviewed by the Abbé Grégoire in 1794 spoke French), Dulong (and many others) hypothesized that there had to have been a leveling of dialectal differences toward the French of Ile-de-France, language of the bureaucrats and merchants and soldiers. Many maritime terms were attested early, as were Amerindianisms or words from indigenous languages. Canada was ceded to England by the treaty of Paris in 1763, ruining most businessmen, sending the army and many administrators and seigneurs back to France. The British army, bureaucrats and merchants moved in and took over, effectively monopolizing the economy, and incorporated many anglicisms and calques; waves of British and loyalist immigrants arrived from 1830-1914. A huge forestry industry began in the early 19th century, primarily to

build the ships England needed for its navy; the paper milling industry followed soon after. First British then American hegemony was established in English in these industries as well as mining and even the printed press. The pressure to assimilate to English was enormous if one wanted to succeed, especially in the provinces outside large groups of other francophones. Québec fared much better but because of the power of the anglophones, Montréal, especially, 'looked' English. Finally, in the 19th century, thanks to greatly increased numbers, the French were able to organize an education system from primary to university, the Church adopted the language, but did not challenge anglophone hegemony in economic affairs.

Rickard (1996) added further details about the history of the French language in Canada. Under the rule of Francis I, French traders brought the French language to the New World but didn't establish colonies until Acadia in 1604 and Québec in 1608. AUPELF (*Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française*) was established in Montréal in 1961 to maintain close links and exchanges between French-speaking universities. In Canada there is the *Académie canadienne française* based in Montréal, which has been publishing a monthly bulletin since 1957. Québec province has its own *Office de la langue française* founded in March 1961. French and English have equal rights as official languages in Canada except in Québec province, where French is now the only official langue. Out of a total population of just over 27 million in Canada, 7 million are French-speaking. Of these, nearly three-quarters

live in Québec province. The remainder live chiefly in parts of Ontario, New Brunswick [along with Nova Scotia, historically Acadia] and Manitoba.

Poirier (1980) stated that the evolution and diffusion of French have long been dominated by the political power and cultural prestige of the upper class of Paris. As a consequence, French people had the sentiment that theirs was a national language, and that Paris was the only repository of their mother language. Québécois (and the varieties of French spoken outside Paris marked by particularly regional character) were dubbed *patois*, dialect or corrupt French. In 1914, one of the pioneers in the study of *français québécois* Adjutor Rivard preferred to call it "*un parler régional*" (a regional speech).

Poirier, along with colleagues Juneau and Massicotte, created the *Trésor de la language française au Québec* (Treasury of the French language in Québec). From the data they collected, Poirier was able to trace the evolution of this regional variety. The first French colonists were from various regions of France but primarily from the Northwest, the West and the Center. Most historians (including the above mentioned Rivard) have conjectured that by the 18th century, the regional differences of the speech (not necessarily the writing) of the colonists were evened out to a *koiné*, a mutually intelligible French devoid of the most blatant dialectal markers. Proof of probable pronunciations is also indicated by the non-standard spellings found in various books and ledgers. Evidently in the region of Québec between 1680 and 1711, the pronunciation and vocabulary were very much like that popular at the time in the regions of Ile-de-France, Poitou, Charentes, Normandie, Bretagne, Maine, Anjou and Perche. The origins of

Québécois pronunciation came from the de-regionalization of the predominant accents of the time. Even the derogatory term of the 1960's for the language of the common man in Québec, *joual*, shows evidence of the predominant influence of the pronunciation of the Ile-de-France, the Northwest and the West. The [► wal] of *cheval* was attested since the 17th century in the popular speech of Paris.

The domination of the English after the conquest of 1760 effectively cut off the French Canadians from France and the rest of the world and began a long period of lexical borrowing from English by the francophones. First affected were words that named products imported from England, such as ale, corduroy, mop, barley, set, strap. Next borrowed were terms of commerce, then economy, industry and finally politics. The borrowed words were also inculcated by means of the newspapers and especially advertisement; the prestige accorded the English 'conquerors' encouraged adoption by the francophone masses of the new terms that were not just for new items never seen before but often replaced existing French words. The first purists of the French language took offense. The Catholic Church had vested interest also in the maintenance of the French language. By and large, the English influence of this period is lexical and concentrated in certain domains. The end result was a resurgence of French and interest in the preservation of the language. That French, however, reflects a North American reality, a different way of life from European French, different food, clothing, lodging conditioned by a different geography and climate.

Poirier detailed the components of the lexicon of Québécois: at its base, the general French or neutralized French of the earliest French colonists arrived from Ile-de-France and provinces of the Northwest and West of France, as discussed above; archaisms and a general conservatism also brought from the western provinces to the New World; certain dialectalisms of these same regions; borrowings, both from Amerindian and English interaction; and finally innovations. Poirier insisted on the primarily spoken character of Québécois which only secondarily influences the written language. While he acknowledged marked regionalisms in the variety, he asserted that the future of the French language in the world depended on the integration and expansion of its regional varieties.

The issue of language planning and policy in Québec has been documented extensively. Ball (1997) claimed that multilingual nation-states need a 'language policy' that determines the status of the languages native to their various communities; language planning is the process of establishing such a policy; status planning is not corpus planning, which is concerned with questions of standardization and correct usage. In Canada at large, particularly in New Brunswick and anglophone Canada, where francophones account for more than 10% of the population, language planning operates under the personality principle--services are provided by the authority in the two official languages and the choice of which to use is up to the individual. In Québec, however, language policy operates under the territorial principle--French is the only official language--though the extreme would be no entitlement to services in the other

language. According to Ball, pre-mid-twentieth century francophones of Québec were Catholic, rural, and underprivileged people, whose education system was run by clergy, and whose separate legal system was based on the Napoleonic Code while anglophones were Protestant, urban (mainly Montréal), who were in control of economic power, and who had a British-type legal system. He asserted that present day Québec francophones are less devout, more urbanized, more prominent economically, having had a secular education, but still live under Napoleonic Code while anglophones are still urban and nominally Protestant but less dominant economically.

According to Grescoe (2000), today only 15% of Québécois attend church regularly compared to 21% of all Canadians and 40% of Americans. According to CBC/Maclean's poll in 1998, 70% of Québécois strongly believe no one has the right to impose morality on others (in contrast to 52% in the rest of Canada) and 81% strongly agree that people have the right to lead different lifestyles (59% in Canada). A full 80% believe that abortion is a personal choice; 80% approve of openly gay or lesbian teachers. Currently, the norm in Québec is for a woman to keep her maiden name after marriage; changing her name to her new husband's requires a certificate.

Ball discussed the most important piece of language legislation, *La Loi 101*, the Charter of the French Language, which protects and strengthens the position of French in the province, naming it the official language of Québec. The Parti Québécois came to power after the 1976 provincial assembly elections. In 1977 the Federal Canadian Government in Ottawa had passed bilingual

policies. While most areas of public life already operated in French, the significant anglophone minority controlled education, the private business sector, and public signage. Bill 101 compelled the children of recent immigrants to attend French-language schools whereas they had had a choice previously. Private firms with more than fifty employees were required to switch to functioning in French and were inspected for certification by the government. Finally, all signs displayed in public places were required to be in French only, not bilingual as common enough before. This latter stipulation was finally compromised as all exterior signs while those inside might display any other language in addition to French. Two decades after Bill 101, the percentage of anglophones and allophones in Québec has dropped dramatically while the number of native francophones rose and the number of anglophones claiming second-language competence in French almost doubled. The number of positions in middle and upper management occupied by francophones increased from 34.6% in 1969 to 58% in 1988, and those occupied by anglophones decreased from 50% in 1969 to 23% in 1988. However, the 1995 referendum for or against an independent Québec was (narrowly) "no." While 95% of anglophones, allophones and native North Americans voted no, only 58% of francophones voted "yes." In an important aside, Wardhaugh (1998) indicated that the immigrant population of Canada (those of origins other than French or English) now comprise about the same proportion as those of French origin: English 45%, French 28% and other 27%. Most of these groups are also facing language loss, and many think that the French in Canada, especially outside Québec, should

have no privileges that they themselves do not enjoy--this feeling is especially strong in western Canada.

As for a linguistic description of Québécois, the distinctive pronunciation reflects northern not southern French because the original seventeenth-century settlers were mostly from the north-western provinces of France. Grescoe also attested to *moé* pronunciation of Louis XIV's court at Versailles and *eux-autres* of Molière and '*à cette heure*' of Montaigne now so denigrated in *joual*. *Sacres*, on the other hand, trace to the theocracy that oppressed for 200 years (a study from Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières counted 890 distinct sacres in the French-Canadian lexicon).

According to Ball, certain characteristics are found in all social classes (and so are relatively unstigmatized): an affricated pronunciation of [t] [d]--[ts] [dz] only before [i] [y]; tense [i] has become lax [I]; mid-vowels are lengthened and often dipthongized *même* [ma:Im]; nasals are reduced to [ã] [õe] due to fronting; words such as *cassé* are pronounced *câssé*.

More stigmatized are features said to be markedly working-class, urban, colloquial *joual*: pronunciation of *oi* as *oé*, *mordzi* instead of *mardi*, a retroflex [r] instead of a rolled [R], non-standard contractions such as *s'a* for *sur la*, or *j'es ai vu* for *je les ai vus.*

As far as the lexicon, even the highly distinctive regionalisms found in Québécois are minor, usually now archaic or dialectal in European French, innovations from Canada for items that didn't exist in the French of the time,

swear words especially *blasphèmes*, 'anti-anglicismes' or French *tournures de phrase* where European French uses English, both overt and covert anglicisms.

Another description of Québécois by Léard (1990) details the pronominal system (-*autres*, etc., no *elles*, and *a* instead of *elle*), quantifiers (*ben, gros, tut*), idiosyncracies of the verb (like *disent--risent*, *jousent*), abandonment of future tense for *futur immediat*, use of *avoir* for auxiliary, *être après* for *être en train de*), conjunctions of subordination (*fait que = fak*, *quand que* and *comme que*) and coordination (*pi*), interrogative forms (*tu viens-tu*, *on y va-ti*), discourse markers (opening turn with *pi*, *fak* or *coudon--ecoute donc*, closing with *entécas* or above, commenting with *et pi, st'affaire--qu'est-ce que ça peut faire--*, *y a rien là*)

The nationalism so associated with Québécois purportedly has roots that date to the beginning of French occupation of the New World. Rioux (1990) outlined the period of French rule, *le régime français* (1608-1760) ending with England's conquest of *la Nouvelle-France* in 1763, the area of Québec and former Acadia becoming the 15th British colony. After the American Revolution, British North America included Québec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, becoming *la Confédération canadienne,* the Dominion of Canada. At first, *Québécois* referred just to the inhabitants of the first permanent settlement of French in North America, the city of Québec (an Algonquin word meaning 'passage' or 'strait'--Canada came from Huron-Iroquois and meant 'village'). Québécois in this sense excluded the francophone minorities of Canada but included the anglophone minority of Québec. Rioux made the distinction

between the *Canadiens français*, who don't want emancipation from Canada, and Québécois, who do.

Balthazar (1980) claimed that the francophones of Québec had always sought a distinct identity that was traceable through history by the names or labels they gave themselves. In the beginning they were the French colonists; even before the break from France, these colonists had begun calling themselves *Canadiens*, believing themselves to have a culture different from that of the mother country. After the British conquest, they continued to call themselves *Canadiens* as long as the English called themselves British; once the British adopted Canadian, the francophones became *canadiens français*, a calque of French Canadian; finally, since the 1960's the French Canadians of Québec called themselves *Québécois*. Balthazar asserted that with each new redefinition of self came a new affirmation of identity as a nation. He quoted Sir James Craig, one of the first British governors, who noted that the francophone politicians "*ne cessent de parler de la nation canadienne et de ses libertés*" (do not cease to talk of the Canadian nation and of its liberties) (p. 5). Furthermore Balthazar contended that this national conscience long took a traditionally conservative form until its rejection by a new élite pushed the movement toward modernization, secularization and an opening to the world.

An authentic Canadien culture was attested by most historians to exist in New France from the 18th century, including a new way of life from that they had left in France, a language that was already enriched by idioms from the new world, artistic endeavors particular to the area, a local economy and a shared

sense of purpose in the community, that being a permanent rivalry with the British. This conservative culture, distinct that it might have been even at this early point, seemed to accept the hierarchy inherent in the seignorial system, the dress of Paris and a very strict Catholicism. When New France was cut off by the British Conquest, the first governors reinforced these very conservative aspects to assure their authority and avoid any revolt similar to that raging in France at the time. The Act of Québec in 1774 gave the people the right to the French language and Catholic faith in this new British colony.

By the end of the century, however, after a huge immigration from British Loyalists from the United States fleeing after the Declaration of Independence of 1776, these conservative Catholic francophones were fighting for their political freedom from the new waves of economic liberalism brought by the new immigrant merchants. With Canadiens in the majority and leaning on an elite bourgeoisie that still maintained the values of the old French hierarchy, they rebelled vigorously in 1837-8 in the Parliament to uphold their right to their language and their faith, though the officials of the church denounced the insurrectionists. The complicity of the Church and the British was seated here. In order to shift the balance of power, the British began a systematic immigration policy until, in 1867, finally in sufficient numbers to pass legislation, a law was passed by the London Parliament uniting all the British colonies of North American, effectively reducing the francophones to a province in which an English minority controlled the economy while the francophone majority had limited political power. The Church's power was to rest in its control of the

French Canadian society--the culture, the leisure activities, schools, and public assistance--through a parochial system. "*La langue gardienne de la foi*" (the guardian language of the faith) was the slogan of this traditional nationalism that promoted rural, conservative values.

The industrial revolution upset this balance of power between the English and the Church, but not for almost thirty years. While the British managed the capital and the technology of Québec, the French Canadians, more and more urbanized, still thought of themselves as agricultural, Catholic and faithful to the past hierarchical traditions. In the 1950's, a new élite, one of whom was Pierre Trudeau, who became Prime Minister, began to attack the conservative nationalism as the force that kept Québec sheltered from the rest of the world, that supplanted any religion besides Catholicism, that kept the Québécois government from wielding any real political power, and that distracted the people from the English monopoly of the economy. The provincial government continued to defer to the federal government, all the while protesting its incursions, and looked to the Church in matters of education and public welfare and to foreign capital for the exploitation of natural resources. In the provincial election of 1960, a new team came to power, creating what they called "*la révolution tranquille*" (the quiet revolution). The new Québec state that resulted took control of the economy and the education system, and opened relations with the outside, financed cultural endeavors and installed social programs.

The next force that distilled the Québécois identity was the intense social mobilization that resulted from urbanization and the growth of the communication

system, television in particular. Newly urban French Canadians became more and more aware that the information age was controlled by the English, in English. Newly assimilating French Canadians needed new symbols of solidarity to replace the old they had lost--the family, the religion, the farm--and they settled on the folklore that recalled their history. The French language became the focus of their identity, the French Canadians of Québec became the Québécois, and the provincial government became the moving force. In 1964, Jean Lesage, prime minister of Québec from 1960-1966, declared "*Nous croyons que le Québec est l'expression politique du Canada français et qu'il joue le rôle de mère-patrie de tous ceux qui, au pays, parlent notre langue*" (we believe that Québec is the political expression of French Canada and that it plays the role of mother country for all those in the country who speak our language) (p. 12). In 1962 Lesage and René Lévesque, his Minister of Natural Resources, had held a general election for a mandate to nationalize all the hydro-electric resources of the province with the slogan "*Maîtres chez nous*" (masters of our own). The liberal government won, creating Hydro-Québec and propelling francophones into the economy heretofore controlled by anglophones.

The federal government, reluctant to relinquish all that the new provincial government demanded, tried to encourage francophones to disperse throughout Canada by institutionalizing bilingualism. When the federal government then turned to embrace multi-culturalism to appease the many different ethnic groups then vying for power, the francophones settled on obligatory bilingualism in all federal public services and on all commercial labeling throughout Canada. This

failed to satisfy the Québécois claim to autonomy and it troubled anglophones in all provinces. Federalists declared that if Québec were to acquire all the powers claimed, secession would surely follow. The approximately one million francophones living outside Québec and the one million anglophones within Québec felt equally disenfranchised. The first political party that espoused an independent state was created before the election of 1966, *le Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (R.I.N). The following year, Charles de Gaulle, President of France, called for Québec's sovereignty. The same year, René Lévesque became head of the Parti Québécois and proposed a different idea of independence--not a separation from Canada but a new form of Canadian Union, much like the European Union. The question of whether Québec should remain in a Union or become a sovereign nation is debated at every election. But in 1979, the report of a federal commission Pépin-Robarts concluded that Québec would remain the cultural center of francophones in North America whether it seceded or not. The report continued that Québec represented a distinct society within Canada because of its history, its language, its civil code, and its political culture. The report concluded with its recommendation that Québec be accorded autonomy, hoping that it would remain a province.

Historically, after the British Conquest, French Canadians were found throughout what had been New France, now the province of Québec, but located primarily in isolated, rural, strongly Catholic parishes with little contact with English. According to Levine (1990), the industrialization of Montréal in the late 19th century attracted thousands of francophones from the country to the point that

in 1961, almost 40% of Québec's francophones lived in the city (up from almost 9% in 1871). The city of Montréal became the focus of the province and the arena for the battle for Québécois identity. The protection afforded the language by its very isolation was jeopardized in this new urban environment where English was the language of upward mobility. Levine described the historical role of the city:

> Montreal has been a bilingual city, composed of French- and English-speakers, ever since French Canada was conquered by the British in 1760. For a brief period between 1830 and 1850, a flood of immigrants from the British Isles temporarily created an English-speaking majority in Montreal. In every census since 1871, however, French-speakers have accounted for more than 60 percent of the population in this island city on the St. Lawrence River...Until quite recently, Anglophone Montrealers could live and work using only the English language...[they] had access to linguistically autonomous networks of educational, health, and social service institutions, all largely unregulated by the Francophone-controlled provincial and municipal governments...English was the language of industry and commerce...Montreal's labor market was characterized by a "linguistic division of labor" (p. 1).

Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" brought Anglophone dominance of the city short by *la question linguistique*, the language issue, of the 1960's as a result of the passage of three language laws, thus assuring not only the survival of Québécois French but also its role as the symbol of francophone identity. Class interests had affected the politicization of linguistic divisions in the city. Public policy had altered the linguistic hierarchy and affected patterns of language maintenance and shift. Particularly during the tenure of the Parti Québécois (1976-1985), the provincial government enacted policies in language planning and economic development which erased this linguistic division of labor by creating new economic opportunities for francophones and thereby shifting economic power.

The language of instruction in Montréal schools was of primary interest to the rising francophone elite. Separate networks of anglophone and francophone schools had existed since the 1840's, but after World War II, a huge immigrant population began sending their children to English-language schools. The result was an anglicization of such a large percentage of the population that there was fear among this rising middle-class of teachers, journalists and professionals who had displaced the Catholic clergy as leaders of the francophone culture, fear that francophones would once again become a minority in the city. Intense conflict between the anglophone and francophone "territories" of Montréal resulted in legislation that limited access to Montreal's English-language schools, legislation that was not as strictly enforced in the 1980's and 1990's but which is once again making headlines.

By 1986 the British of Montreal's population was under 10%. Over 30% were allophone--Italians, Jews, but also Greeks and Portuguese, and now Africans, Asian and Caribbean--especially Haitians. This uneasiness with multi-ethnic make-up of Montréal was exacerbated by a decline since the 1950's in the birthrate of native francophone Québécois. Rural Francophones were even less inclined to multiculturalism.

The quality of written and spoken French received renewed attention in 1980's.

By 1860 most British-origin Montrealers were in the western and central wards of the city where they constituted 68 and 49% of the population, respectively, while French-origin residents constituted 69% of eastern districts.

Linguistic geography remained remarkably the same until the 1960's. By 1961, Montréal's population was more than 2 million, but suburbs mushroomed across the Island and to North and South Shore; however, again western areas were predominantly anglophone and east and off-Island shores overwhelmingly francophone. Novelist Hugh MacLennan coined the expression "*les deux solitudes*"--two solitudes--to refer to this lack of interaction between the two groups.

2.5.3 Comparison of the speech communities

While both Texas Spanish and Québécois are considered non-standard ethnic varieties of national languages with much contact with English, the roots of the former were historically much more diverse, springing from a mixing of Spanish with various indigenous varieties, evolving rather freely and in isolation without the normative influence of Spanish-language education. Québécois began as a more leveled koiné, and its evolution was somewhat checked by a rather prescriptive education system. The persistance of the two varieties is due, in very different ways, to the relationship of the ethnic group to the mother country. The continuing close ties of Texas Spanish-speakers with Mexico has maintained the role of at least nominal use of Spanish as a marker of identity while at the same time fostering an attitude of ambivalence about the 'quality' of this non-standard variety. The isolation of Québec from France rather early on resulted in an identity separate from the mother country, with a relatively normed non-standard variety taken as symbol of that identity, promoted and protected by the Catholic Church. Differences in language use in bilinguals are as striking.

Both Texas Spanish and Québécois are in-group markers. Code-switching, while the norm among bilingual Spanish-speakers in Texas, is not usual among bilingual Québécois except in specific instances of language negotiation with non-bilinguals. However, even among Texas Spanish-speakers, interaction with an out-group member will trigger a switch to English, even if the out-group member is fluent in Spanish.

Finally, there are historical bases for the differentiation of these two minority ethnic groups from the Anglo/anglophone majority. Racialization was a force in early Texas history, while intra-ethnic class discrimination was well-known in Mexico, resulting in a racialization of Mexican American identity and its link to lower socio-economic levels. Québécois identity was tied to a long-rooted sense of nationalism, of anti-English sentiment and traditional Catholic values. While the specifically conservative religious and rural orientation of the identity has changed, the strong tie between nationalism and the ethnic language have strengthened.

In addition, an understanding of the differences of the national norms is essential to the interpretation of these data. In national discourse in the United States, there is an expectation of assimilation to the 'American' culture, whatever that is assumed to be (though most are aware of what is *not* 'American'.) The ideology of a 'Melting Pot' implies an eventual leveling of cultural differences, an adaptation to American cultural norms, and ultimately, English monolingualism. The maintenance of ethnic languages/varieties is certainly not encouraged. Canada, on the other hand, has an official discourse of

multiculturalism that ultimately led to the legislation of national bilingualism. Canadian identity is based on the supposition of the existence of a bilingual population. The maintenance of ethnic languages/varieties would not be seen as a threat to one's claim to a Canadian identity.

2.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discuss issues underlying identity, language attitudes, and language choice. I also outline the historical contexts of the varieties of Spanish and French spoken in San Antonio and Montréal, respectively, to better orient the analysis of the data. Section 2.2 examines models of ethnicity/acculturation-assimilation upon which this study is based (Keefe and Padilla 1987). Section 2.3 reviews studies of language attitudes and links to identity (Woolard 1989) and Section 2.4 presents a theory of politicization of language choice as strategy for validation of ethnic identity (Heller 1992), both bodies used in interpreting the data collected. Section 2.5 outlines issues of historic importance in each speech community which have also influenced the distribution of power between the English language of the majority and the Spanish and French found in San Antonio and Montreal, respectively, in order to consider the differences in the construction of identity and the use of language by these two families. Chapter Three lays out the specifics of the study.

Chapter 3: Design/Methods

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I describe the protocol for collecting and analyzing data. Section 3.2 summarizes the recruitment and selection of subjects for the study as well as procedures concerning the letter of informed consent. Section 3.3 is a discussion of the interview itself, its origins and adaptations. Section 3.4 outlines the collection of data and the bases of their analysis. The chapter is summarized in Section 3.5.

3.2 SUBJECTS

3.2.1 Selection of subjects

For this study, subjects are self-reported Spanish-English speakers of Mexican descent born and raised in San Antonio, Texas or French-English speakers of French descent born and raised in Montréal, Québec. These two cities were chosen as a case study in contrasts for several reasons. Historically, the Mexican American and Québécois populations of these respective cities have not been particularly stigmatized since both were founded and peopled primarily by Mexicans and French, respectively, and became minorities, not in terms of numbers but with respect to political and social power or status, only later in the development of the cities after Anglo/English dominance was established. Second and because of this history, Mexican American and Québécois populations are not concentrated solely in the lower socio-economic levels of the

community but also occupy the middle level as well, and in smaller numbers, the upper level. In addition, the speech communities of both cities have been reasonably described in the recent literature, as noted in Chapter Two. Important to consider also was the fact that, from personal experience, I believed that these two ethnic groups represent very different views about the link of language to identity. Finally, since I have friends and family in the extensive Québécois/Mexican American social networks of these cities, they were the appropriate choice for practical reasons.

For this contrastive case study, I chose to interview two families, one in each city, rather than use a large-scale standardized measure with predetermined response categories. My goal was to elicit richer and more detailed data than could otherwise have been collected, and, in turn, to shed light not only on the issue of ethnic identity, which so far has not been adequately explained by any dichotomous model of minority/majority relations, but also specifically on the role language reportedly plays in this identity. The data from these few subjects indicate a situation that is more complex than can be explained even on the scaled continuum used by Keefe and Padilla: one is not either "ethnic" or "assimilated"--one can be Mexican American and American, Québécois and Canadian. The relationship of that identity to language also varies, even among members of the same family. Not only do the data give information on the language practices of a Mexican American and a Québécois family today but, viewed across the three generations, should indicate change over time. It is not my claim that these are "typical" or in any way represent all Mexican American or Québécois families,

rather that they are not so different from many other families in those cities and that their attitudes about their identity and their reported use of language cannot be accounted for by traditional assimilation/acculturation models.

Members of the San Antonio family interviewed range in age from 17 to 67 years of age while the Montréal family range from 23 to 73. Subjects are fairly evenly distributed as to age and gender. Socioeconomic factors were not specifically controlled for, though the family profiles are not entirely dissimilar. The general education level of the adult members of the San Antonio family, ranging from GED to Ph.D.s, is higher than that of the Montréal family, which ranges from high school diplomas to college degrees and professional certification. There were 8 respondents in the San Antonio family and 10 respondents from Montréal.

I presented a letter of informed consent, in both English (Appendix 2) and Spanish or French (Appendices 3 and 4) that explained my interest in language choice among bilingual speakers, but because any mention of intent to examine the effect of attitudes on language choice and claims to ethnic identity would influence such attitudes, the title of the study was referred to as "Language use of bilingual Spanish-English speakers of Mexican origin in San Antonio, Texas/French-English speakers in Montréal." While not as specific as the working title of the study, there was certainly no intention to be misleading. Each respondent was asked to sign the consent letter and keep a copy for his/her records.

3.2.2 Recruitment and consent

I have various family members and friends in San Antonio who, though not members of the target community themselves, are intimately acquainted with several different generations of Spanish-speakers ultimately of Mexican origin.[2] Potential participants in this pilot study were approached individually in both Spanish and English, either in the presence of the person well-known to them or with an introduction from that person. I made contact with the family of this study through a mutual friend (Anglo) who is a member of my Protestant church in a neighboring university city. As represented in 3.1, the members studied include the patriarch of the family and his wife, the second generation composed of two of their three sons and their daughter and her husband, and the third generation including two of their grandchildren. Most subjects were interviewed in person, in pairs, by the subjects' request. Subjects often reminded each other of stories or details of stories, in some cases co-creating the narrative, so the interaction provided even richer data than might otherwise have been collected. One subject of the second generation, George, was interviewed alone as his wife could not be considered for this study; they have been married fewer than five years. Another subject of the second generation, Peter, lives in California now and was interviewed later by speakerphone.

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*

[2]They are referred to as Spanish-speakers *ultimately* of Mexican origin because indeed it is the Americans who have kept moving the border, i.e. the ancestors of many Mexican Americans were living in what is today the United States before the arrival of the Anglos.

SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 3.1. San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

The language of the interview and any code-switching were noted, the choice of language of interchange with me, an obvious out-group member (fair skin, blue eyes, non-Spanish name) being significant. Only two of the subjects, both Tony and Armonda of the first generation, claimed to be bilingual though all used Spanish phonology when pronouncing Spanish-origin words, and most acknowledged some passive competence in basic conversational Spanish; all chose to sign the English version of the letter of consent although the Spanish version was also offered. I used expressions in Spanish throughout all formal and informal interactions and indicated that indeed I spoke Spanish; however, all conversations remained in English, averaging about one hour in duration. A brief description of the San Antonio informants can be found in Appendix 6 and a more complete description of each subject in Chapter Four.

The subjects in Montréal, as presented in Figure 3.2, make up three generations of a francophone family already known to me. Contact with this family has been over a fifteen-year period as a sympathetic out-group member. Though I was married for six years to one of the second generation studied, I am American, and while I speak excellent French, it is continental French, not Québécois. Contact over the years with most of the family has been by telephone, letters, and occasional e-mails with visits (both in Montréal and in Texas) usually

of several days' duration three to four times a year. The members studied include the matriarch of the family and her sister and brother-in-law, the second generation composed of four of her six sons and one daughter and her nephew, and the third generation including two of her grandsons.

Lucille M-I-1 — *Pierrette*------*Claude* M-I-2 M-I-3

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — *Denis* M-II-6 — *Manon* M-II-7 — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain M-III-9 — *Yannick* M-III-10

Figure 3.2. Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Almost all members claimed to be bilingual French-English to varying degrees though the native language and language of instruction in all cases was reported to be French. The matriarch's sister, Pierrette, declared the least fluency in English; two members, informant René of the second generation and one of his sons, Alain, have lived in the United States for more than ten years and affirmed the greatest fluency in English. All members signed the French version of the letter of consent and all but two of the telephone interviews, averaging about forty-five minutes, were conducted in French. A brief description of the Montréal informants can be found in Appendix 7 and a more complete description of each subject in Chapter Five.

3.3 INSTRUMENT

The oral interview was conducted either in person or by phone in an open-ended question format (Appendix 1). The instrument used was derived from an original self-report questionnaire created by Keefe and Padilla (1987), which was adapted in various ways for the reasons discussed below.

3.3.1 Adaptation of the original instrument

In their own study of respondents of Mexican origin in three cities in southern California, Keefe and Padilla (1987) noted wide internal variation in how identity was constructed as well as changes in this identity over time. They constructed two scales, Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty, to quantify trends in the conceptualization of what it means to be a "Chicano." As stated in Chapter Two, Keefe and Padilla insisted on cultural pluralism, rejecting the acculturation-assimilation model which described the loss of traditional cultural traits and acceptance of new ones followed by progressive social, economic, and political integration into mainstream (Anglo, in this case) society. Their data indicated instead different components of identity which, they proposed, undergo varying degrees of shift: knowledge of Mexican history and Spanish language might diminish from generation to generation, for example, while Catholicism remains stable and extended familism is even strengthened, especially among the upper classes. Further, their study echoed a sentiment prevalent among sociologists of the time that the "Chicano" culture has "creolized," becoming distinctive and possessing many features unique from either Mexican or American cultures.

The present study modified Keefe and Padilla's instrument, discussed more fully in Chapter Two, in several ways for the following reasons. The format became an oral interview with open-ended questions, which allowed participants to elaborate their own notion of identity with/for me, an out-group member; the informants were essentially 'performing' what they thought their identity ought to be. The subjects' interpretations of the questions and resulting responses were not always predictable, generating more personal and individualized data than choosing among forced choices would have. Some of the questions of Keefe and Padilla's original categories were collapsed if answers seemed redundant and/or if the respondent was reluctant to pursue the question topic and/or if following up answers with "Why do you say that?" or "What do you mean by that?" led elsewhere. I combined some of the discrete categories such as language fluency, use and preference which are analyzed over several of Keefe and Padilla's "categories" but it was more logical to "talk" about grouped in this sequence, and even then the oral questions would get out of "order" when following up natural leads--some being omitted altogether. The open-ended oral question format also allowed for more refined gradations and analyses beyond those possible with the original instrument. Most of those original queried topics yielded binary data--yes/no, Spanish/English, Anglo/Mexican, True/False--not allowing for any analysis much more complex than more Anglo versus more Mexican, i.e. more or less acculturated/assimilated. The original analyses, for example, didn't account for allophones, speakers of languages other than Spanish or English, for situational application or for reported codeswitching. The questionnaire was also

modified since all the subjects were either Mexican Americans born, raised and educated in San Antonio or Québécois born, raised and educated in Montréal: Keefe and Padilla's question about visits to Mexico might be a bonafide question to ask in San Antonio but not visits to France in Montréal, since Québécois as a whole have not had intimate contact with France for centuries due to geographic and historical distance as discussed in Chapter Five. The self-assessment of language abilities was done on a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being not at all fluent, 10 being absolutely native-like), which allowed subjects to indicate (covertly/unconsciously) attitude toward the language or 'linguistic insecurity' as defined by Labov (1972). The subjects' self-report of their proficiency was an important indication of their attitude toward the variety, outweighing the need for an objective measure of actual language proficiency. Questions about cultural heritage were modified also by including not only historical Mexican/French cultural symbols but also those associated with Mexican American/Québécois life as well. The issue of ties to the mother country was important in the analysis of the data collected.

3.3.2 Adapting and expanding the instrument to reflect language attitudes and language choice

The oral open-ended questionnaire also incorporated additional questions that were essential in applying Woolard's analysis of solidarity versus prestige to the data collected. A specific series of questions then sought evidence for Heller's claim that the valuing or legitimizing of Canadian French, or Québécois, was a significant factor in the mobilization of francophones in Québec and Ontario, my hypothesis being that an absence of this mobilization among

Mexican Americans might be one factor in the relative stigmatization of Texas Spanish and its speakers. These latter questions were designed to show how far bilinguals were willing to go in exploiting language choice as a political strategy in the mobilization of their group, though they had to be modified for the two different speech communities. In Montréal, it is generally agreed that choice of code is marked/unmarked as conditioned by neighborhood language, Québécois or English. Choice in San Antonio is marginally less conditioned by geography and greatly conditioned by the physical appearance of the participant, though specific situations were chosen to parallel the instrument used in Montréal, e.g. northside San Antonio and the Westmont area of Montréal are generally considered anglophone. In this second section of the interview was a series of situations for which the subject indicated his/her probable choice of language in an interaction. The first situation described was a simple business transaction with little personal investment in a neutral territory--neither remarkably anglophone nor francophone/Spanish dominant. The second and third situations described a more involved transaction, ordering dinner in a restaurant, in first an anglophone then Mexican American or francophone environment. The fourth and fifth transactions required greater linguistic skill, the purchase of a specific item, in first an anglophone then in a Mexican American or francophone department store. The sixth situation required the complicated strategies of buying a car. The seventh and eighth reverted to a low-level transaction that takes place in a city that is known as anglophone and one that is known as francophone/Spanish-speaking. For each situation, the informant was asked to report his/her probable

choice of language first when approached in English, then when offered the choice of English or Spanish/French, and finally when the subject's less dominant language was clearly the only choice. Finally, the subject was asked details of any actual past encounter in which there had been a conscious choice of language or any situation in which he/she would insist on speaking one language over the other.

3.3.3 Final considerations in adaptation

The third motivation in adapting the instrument was to engage in discussion with me as an out-group member, though a very different sort of out-group member in each case. There are many differences between me and the two families: I am a recent acquaintance (though Spanish-speaking) of a non-Spanish-speaking friend in San Antonio while in Montréal, the ex-in-law known intimately for several years. My level of education is much more on a par with that of the adult Mexican American family members while it is higher than that of the Montréal family member. I am a fellow Texan, not Canadian at all. I can (and often do) "pass" for a Québécoise in Montréal though I can't "pass" for Mexican American in San Antonio. These differences, among others, certainly influenced the data, though I wouldn't see that as a limitation to the validity or reliability of the data, rather as a further dimension of how identity is constructed differently in these two cities.

I was particularly seeking the motivation, as the subject understood it, of the data collected: recollection of discussions within the speech community about language choice, notice of change in attitude toward either language (English or

the variety of French/Spanish spoken in the community), events leading up to "politicization" of identity and choice of label and definition of those labels, first language experience at home and in school, self-assessment as bilingual, characterization of the local variety versus standard Spanish/French, attitudes encountered in class in teachers and students both anglophone and not, etc. The informant was asked if s/he recalled an older relative discussing language choice, if s/he had noted any change in attitude toward either language since his/her youth, and usually, if s/he could imagine why I was asking these kinds of questions and if s/he found this information interesting or important to study.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The data collected in the interviews, either in person (in San Antonio) or by phone (with 1 subject of the San Antonio family and all of the Montréal subjects), were tape-recorded. Questions and prompts from the open-ended interview guide (Appendix 1) elicited data preferences in language use, cultural heritage, cultural identification, ethnic social orientation, ethnic pride and affiliation, and perceived discrimination. All bilingual respondents also were asked to indicate which language they would choose to use during certain transactions in locations made geographically specific to each city. The interview was conducted in the respondent's choice of language, either English or Spanish/French. The interviews averaged between 45 minutes and an hour in length and were an efficient way to gather a large body of very rich data which might also lead the subjects to think differently about language (and their use of it).

Thus, this qualitative case study yields data that map out how the above-mentioned factors play out in the daily lives of these families, in particular how they have affected attitudes about the particular language varieties. These attitudes, in turn, influence language choice, ethnic labeling and the potential to detach language as a requirement for membership in ethnic identity. As pointed out by Johnson (1992), qualitative research methodology is not undertaken particularly to establish cause-and-effect or correlations of a limited number of variables or even clusters of variables; instead, it has been chosen for this study to describe the complexity of the context surrounding how and why, in this case, ethnic identity has been constructed thusly, both individually and collectively in these subjects, members of two different families, three different generations, two different speech communities, two different social systems. Before existing models can be adequately refined or new ones proposed, we must understand better how ethnicity is constructed and reconstructed, with different results over time, in different places, under historically different socio-political and socio-economic constraints. The data collected from minority members themselves, particularly from open-ended questions posed by an out-group member of the majority, will allow the construction of what the subjects think these identities are "supposed" to look and sound like. This single "performance" of the ethnic identity for me should be accounted for by existing models.

The Grounded Theory techniques recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1998) were used in the analysis of this study to allow the empirical data recovered from oral interviews to define the factors that influence the

construction (by self and others) of Québécois and Texas Spanish-speaking identities. The interview guide provided a framework within which I asked open-ended questions and probed for additional details (Patton 1990). Directive questions (e.g. "Can you give me an example of that?") and nondirective probes such as requests for clarification ("I am not clear what you mean--could you explain more about that?") were used to elicit detailed responses and personal anecdotes, particularly about language choice and labeling. The recorded interviews were coded successively: open, axial and selective. In open coding, the researcher first scrutinizes the data to identify and label phrases or themes that emerge as significant. As coding continues, several labels are grouped into categories that are considered to be a more abstract grouping of concepts based on their pertinence to similar phenomena. Axial coding involves linking first subcategories, then the categories themselves, by identifying the variety of conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences associated with the categories already identified. After the categories are systematically developed and linked with subcategories, they are further refined and developed in selective coding. Steps involved in this final phase of coding include explicating the story line, relating subsidiary categories around the core category, relating categories at the dimensional level, validating those relations against data and filling in categories.

According to Strauss and Corbin, memos are the written records of analysis related to the formulation of theory and diagrams are visual representations of relationships between the concepts. Throughout the analysis, memos were written and diagrams developed in order to organize the ideas about

language choice and ethnicity to clarify the following points: What is the relationship of one category to another? Are they independent? Is one the cause of another, or the consequence? What are the conditions that influence the categories?

After completing the selective coding, I compared the generated categories and subcategories for similarities and differences across the two identities as described. Case-oriented analysis was utilized to allow me to examine the variables within each case (reported in Chapters Four and Five.) After each case had been analyzed separately, the cases were compared to each other (as reported in Chapter Six), following Miles and Huberman (1994). This comparative analysis across cases helped me determine specific, concrete patterns that should be accounted for in Keefe and Padilla's multi-dimensional mode. I had anticipated that the reported components of ethnicity might be constructed similarly across a generation or indeed across the whole family.

Based on the data collected, the subjects were to be assigned to one of five types of ethnic orientation as established by Keefe and Padilla, but the results were much more complicated than even the multi-dimensional/neo-pluralistic model could account for, indicating that these subjects' notions of ethnicity were much more than overlapping continua of eight dimensions and that there was no predictive power of self-identification with detachment from or insistence on the local variety language, Texas Spanish or Québécois. For the eighteen subjects of these two families, there were too many discrepancies to type them clearly. Also there were more factors specific to the speech community, to the act of self-report

to an out-group member, to personal political agenda than could be accounted for by either Woolard's or Heller's constructs.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), there are three variables necessary to establish trustworthiness of a study: credibility, transferability, and dependability. To insure that the subject's responses were described accurately, I used informal member checking (Patton 1990). Before, during and after the interviews, informal conversations with the subject as well as with the other participating family members allowed corroboration of interview data and collection of additional information. The findings of this study will be limited specifically to the identity constructed by members of these two families with no further claims of transferability. Finally, to insure dependability, the basis of selection of participants and derivation of categories is clearly detailed.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the specifics of the experiment are laid out. Section 3.2 summarizes the recruitment and selection of subjects for the study as well as procedures concerning the letter of consent. Section 3.3 is a discussion of the instrument itself, its origins and adaptations. Section 3.4 outlines the collection of data and the bases of their analysis. Chapters Four and Five are the reporting of data collected in San Antonio and Montréal, respectively, and their analysis as case studies.

Chapter 4: Results/Analysis of San Antonio data

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the data from the subjects in San Antonio. Section 4.2 is the description of the individual subjects from San Antonio, reported and typed according to the Keefe and Padilla model. Section 4.3 is the description of the San Antonio family as a whole, contrasting the type, language attitudes and language choice of the individual subjects, the generations, and the implications for that family's construction of their ethnic identity situated in their speech community. The chapter is summarized in section 4.4.

The interview data from the San Antonio family were analyzed using the techniques of the Grounded Theory of Strauss and Corbin (1998) as described above in Chapter Three; they are first interpreted according to the neo-pluralistic model of acculturation and assimilation proposed by Keefe and Padilla (1987), otherwise known as the multi-dimensional model. The data are presented here situated on the two axes established by Keefe and Padilla: Cultural Awareness (including factors relating to the respondent's cultural heritage, the spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride, the parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride, and perceived discrimination) and Ethnic Loyalty (including language preference, ethnic pride and affiliation, cultural identification, and ethnic social orientation). Based on these data collected, subjects are then assigned as best possible to one of five types of ethnic orientation as established by Keefe and Padilla: Respondents of Type I would be clearly unacculturated and identify as Mexican while those of

Type V would be highly Anglicized and identify little with Mexican culture. Type III respondents would have a moderate amount of Mexican cultural awareness and loyalty and some knowledge of Anglo culture; while they might be considered "bicultural," it is significant that they retain their Mexican identity and are conscious of their Mexican heritage. Types II and IV are situated between the above correlates. Data of this type are presented in section 4.2 for the San Antonio subjects. Though Keefe and Padilla's data were quantitative and the resulting model was empirically based on Chicano ethnicity in California, as discussed in Chapter Two, it should, to the extent that it is robust, help account for similar data collected on any ethnic group, especially another group of Mexican origin. See Appendix 1 for a list of sample questions used in the oral interviews.

Attitude toward the Texas variety of Spanish is then interpreted according to the model used by Woolard (1989) in her examination of the politics of language and ethnicity. Though the linguistic and ethnic situation she analyzed may be in some ways more comparable to Montréal than to San Antonio, I incorporated into the oral interviews her questionnaire and into the analysis of data her conceptualization of ethnic language as a variable to be exploited (or not) for political validation of the ethnicity. Though her quasi-experimental measure of language attitudes was based on Lambert's original matched guise work in Montréal, her (and my) questions and analyses follow those in the study of Ryan and Carranza, using the two axes of status and solidarity (Osgood's Potency and Evaluation, respectively). If, as she claimed, language choice is critical in the

definition and maintenance of group boundaries (ethnic identity), respondents should score higher on solidarity factors of their own language variety, regardless of the relative prestige of all varieties. Data of this type are discussed in sections 4.3 for the San Antonio subjects.

Finally, the reported likelihood of the bilingual subject to exploit his/her choice of language in any particular situation is examined. Heller (1992) asserted that the use of French as a political and economic strategy had advanced the power of Québécois in Canada. I had anticipated that the subjects analyzed as Type I on the Keefe and Padilla scale would have the most positive attitude toward the variety of Spanish spoken in San Antonio, would be least likely to have detached the language component from their identity and would be most likely to choose the Spanish in all unmarked situations, with the possibility of making a political statement by choosing it as the dispreferred language in anglophone situations. Similarly, following Keefe and Padilla, those of Type V would be most likely to demonstrate negative attitude toward the Spanish, to have already detached or be willing to detach the requirement of Spanish language from their identity and so would accommodate to and use English in most if not all transactions. Data of this type are also discussed in sections 4.3.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF SAN ANTONIO SUBJECTS

For a brief description of the subjects in San Antonio, see Appendix 6. The identification of the subjects by pseudonym provides anonymity while the subject number specifically indicates generation (SA=San Antonio; I,II,III=generation; 1,2,3 etc.=subject number.) The members studied include the

patriarch of the family, Tony, and his wife, Armonda; the second generation is composed of their daughter, Norma, and her husband Rick, and two of their three sons, Pete and George; the third generation includes two of their grandchildren, Little Rick and Alyssa, the children of Norma and Rick.

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.1. San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

One of the second generation is living in California, Peter (SA-II-5), and the grandson, Little Rick (SA-III-7), is currently attending university nearby. The others all reportedly live within six miles of each other in a neighborhood that was historically Anglo but is more recently mixed with Mexican Americans. I made contact with this family through a mutual friend (Anglo) who is a member of my Protestant church in a neighboring university city and who had directed the doctoral dissertation of George (SA-II-6). The subjects were interviewed in pairs, first spouses Norma and Rick (SA-II-3 and 4), their children Little Rick and Alyssa (SA-III-7 and 8), finally spouses Tony and Armonda (SA-I-1 and 2), using open-ended questions such as those found in Appendix 1. This interview

arrangement was by the subjects' request. George (SA-II-6) was interviewed alone. Peter (SA-II-5), in California, was interviewed later by speakerphone.

Only the two subjects of the first generation claimed to be bilingual; the younger subjects varied in their claims of both the amount of Spanish used and their linguistic skills (though there was no discussion of exactly what it means to be 'bilingual'). A brief note about the given names of the family: while there is a Spanish equivalent to all the names except the already Spanish name Armonda, the English version was used and pronounced with English phonology with the exception of the pronunciation by some subjects of the name 'Norma.' However, when discussing cultural icons or other ethnic names and words, these were pronounced by all subjects with Spanish phonology. As noted, the subjects all chose to sign the English version of the letter of consent although the Spanish version was also offered. I used expressions in Spanish throughout all formal and informal interactions and indicated that indeed I spoke Spanish; however, all conversations, averaging about one hour in duration, remained in English, even with Tony and Armonda who claimed the highest skills in Spanish.

The interviews were recorded, memos and diagrams were made from the audio tapes and notes in accordance with the guidelines set out in Strauss and Corbin's Grounded Theory. Details by subject are given below in 4.2, divided according to the components of Keefe and Padilla's model. Data are presented by 'factor' with paragraphs corresponding to the 'dimensions' of Keefe and Padilla's questionnaire, though the data were collected with open-ended questions which usually occurred in a sequence different from the original written quantitative

questionnaire of Keefe and Padilla. Rather than using the binary rating of the data (a higher score indicating a greater degree of acculturation/assimilation to the majority and vice versa), I chose instead to note each subject's orientation as more or less Mexican American **and** more or less Anglo/anglophone to get at a more nuanced construction of identity; even that adaptation proved insufficient for all but gross generalizations. There was additional slippage in the model when accounting for Anglo meaning 'white', anglophone, English language, and Mexican American as opposed to Mexican. My analyses of the data are visually summarized in a chart for each subject which underlines the difficulty of assigning a 'type' corresponding to those proposed by Keefe and Padilla. Following in section 4.3 is a description of the family as a case study, also using the other two analyses of attitude and politicization, from Woolard and Heller, respectively. Characterizations of the two families are compared in Chapter Six.

I have used the terms 'Anglo' (meaning, generally, Caucasian, of Western European origin, English-speaking) and 'Mexican American' unless using the subjects' characterizations of ethnicity expressly stated: 'Anglo/white,' 'Mexican American/Hispanic.'

4.2.1 *Tony*. SA-I-1

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.2. **Tony.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Tony is the husband of Armonda, the father of Norma, Pete, and George (and another son who did not participate in this study), the father-in-law of Rick, the grandfather of Little Rick and Alyssa (and two other grandchildren who did not participate in this study.) He was 67 years old at the time of this interview. Tony was interviewed simultaneously with his wife. He led the responses with his wife adding her own comments afterward, usually echoing her husband with "For me too." Tony claimed Spanish as his first language but reported speaking both Spanish and English equally well now due to his education in English through the 10th grade and his long-time position in federal employ using English almost exclusively. He claimed no formal education in Spanish, having taught himself to read and write in that language. He reported speaking Spanish with his spouse and siblings 75% of time but English with younger generations, acknowledging frequent codeswitching by himself and others in his speech community. He claimed affiliation with the Democratic party, the political party associated with the Tejano population in Texas as early as 1855 (Matovina 1995). My interpretation of the data reported by Tony is found visually displayed in Table 4.1 at the end of the section.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification:

This axis, as described by Keefe and Padilla, is "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another" (p. 46), and includes the dimensions of language preference, ethnic pride and affiliation, cultural

identification, and ethnic social orientation. These factors, in interaction with those of the second axis, Cultural Awareness, were used to assign their subjects to types, either more Chicano or more Anglo, to use Keefe and Padilla's terms. While this yielded a rather binary assignment, even in their continuum, Keefe and Padilla allowed that it should be possible to identify acculturation as a separate process from loss of (and possible subsequent re-vitalization of) ethnic identity. The data for my study are presented arranged in 'factors' ordered similarly to those of Keefe and Padilla, but these data did not fit into Keefe and Padilla's continuum, as discussed in the analysis of the family in 4.3.

Language preference: (Keefe and Padilla's subjects scoring high in Factor I, Language preference, would prefer to use Spanish in personal situations as well as with other people, would prefer a Spanish first name, would be more likely to have children with Spanish first names who also speak Spanish; low scores in Factor I would describe a subject who prefers English in all situations, who prefers an English first name, and who has few (no) children with a Spanish first name and/or who speak Spanish.)

The legal name of subject Tony is indeed Spanish, Antonio, but he was registered in the Navy under the anglicized version of his name and has been known as that since then--even his marriage certificate, the birth certificates of his children, and his mortgage carry the anglicized name though his Texas driver's license has the Spanish version printed over which he signed the anglicized version. When he pronounced his name for the researcher, he did indeed use the Spanish pronunciation of his family name. All informal exchanges as well as the

recorded interview itself took place in English; the English consent form was explained orally and was signed though the Spanish version was offered. However, all Spanish names and words were pronounced with Spanish phonology.

Tony admitted cursing in Spanish and using primarily Spanish when he was upset or agitated. He claimed that his determination of which language to use was based on several criteria. With his wife, language choice reportedly depended mostly on which language he was thinking in at the moment of speech, Spanish about 75% of the time. Language choice might also be influenced by affect, "If I feel I can express myself better in English or in Spanish, then that's the language that I use." With others known to him, he reported using the language they usually conversed in (Spanish with his siblings and in-laws, English with the younger members of the family). With others unknown to him, language choice was determined by physical appearance--"Looking at the person, you may say, 'Well, I don't think that he knows English so I'll try Spanish'". If the response was confusion or outright "I don't speak Spanish", he reported that he would continue in English. "But most of the time I'll start out in English...but if I recognize the person as being...Mexican American, then I would approach him in that language. [i.e., Spanish]"--and by geographical location, particularly in a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood. "We may go to...the Westside, predominantly Mexican American, why if you go up there and try talking in English, they might say 'Well, what's this guy, you know, is he pretentious or what?" If the interchange were with a "white" person, especially in

a predominantly Anglo part of San Antonio, he reported that he would choose English. When pressed, he explained that this determination of language was never explicitly taught, but what he "picked up on his own." Since there was specific mention that Tony consciously chooses the language of interchange that will be most comfortable to his interlocutor, his personal language preferences were never stated as such. "I think it's who-who we're talking to that determines...if the person I know is not very well-versed in English, then I try to use the language that I know that particular person is well-versed in."

Tony did express regret that his children and grandchildren do not speak Spanish, "that we didn't guide them into bilingual" since it is deemed to be so practical in the area, particularly for employment Tony took on a formal tone to act out what he deemed a common interchange in the job market in San Antonio, "[Spanish surname], he ought to be able to speak Spanish and English, but you go for an interview..." [and you aren't bilingual and you don't get the job.] (Though the family names of all the subjects are Spanish, almost all first names are English.) The language in the home reportedly changed when the family moved to the Northside of San Antonio to a predominantly Anglo neighborhood for better schools for the children. "We tried to talk to them in Spanish...but when we moved over here...not only the fact that we wanted them to learn more English to fit into society, but they themselves went to school and learned English and came back and practiced it at home so that prompted us to talk to them in English also." The move out of a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood and into an overwhelmingly Anglo one was itself a dramatic statement on the part of these

parents that education seemed to them the most important assurance of the future of their children. "That's something that nobody, nobody can ever take away from you...for any reason." So he seems to say "...one can always learn Spanish, but one can't always get a Ph.D." All three sons have college degrees, two have Ph.D's, as does the son-in-law.

The difficulty of fitting Keefe and Padilla's binary evaluation of data immediately presented itself in my own analyses, for though their model allowed for continua across both axes, they analysed each of the factors as plus or minus Anglicized. In my study, even this first subject did not fit neatly into my adaptation of plus or minus Anglo **and** plus or minus Mexican American. While Tony has a markedly Spanish legal name, he goes by the Anglicized version and has given his non-Spanish speaking children English names. While he reports that he prefers to speak Spanish with familiars who are able (75% of the time), he very consciously accommodates his interlocutors' probable language choice (based on appearance and geography). I chose to weight these almost equally, though acculturated to English, and assigned him 'AM' to indicate his responses (very divergent in regards to Keefe and Padilla's orientation) in this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (Subjects scoring high in Factor II, Ethnic pride and affiliation, were described by Keefe and Padilla as having high regard for Mexican [again the slippage between Mexican and Mexican American] culture, preferring to associate with Mexicans; those with low scores for Factor II have low regard for Mexican culture and no preference for associating with Mexicans.)

Tony professed no preference and acknowledged frequenting both Spanish-language and English-language stores and media. He lives in a mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone. He reported that he regarded both languages as practical for life, especially in San Antonio. However, Tony's ex-workmates and current friends are predominantly Mexican American, especially since he and his wife socialize with many family members. This being the case, I analyzed Tony as slightly more Mexican American than Anglo in his orientation; I assigned 'MA' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (Keefe and Padilla characterized subjects with high scores in Factor III, Cultural identification, as identifying as Mexican, preferring Mexico to the United States, and preferring to travel in Mexico; low scores indicate a subject who self-identifies as American, who prefers the U.S. to Mexico and who prefers to travel in the U.S.)

Tony first claimed his ethnicity as Mexican, meaning, he said, that he was of Mexican descent, but when he was asked to choose a 'label' from a list I gave him (see Appendix 1), he described himself as "an American citizen and...just as equally important...of Mexican ethnicity." He indicated that though he didn't really think about it as a child, he imagined he would have chosen the same label then, and he wouldn't change in his labeling depending on to whom he was identifying himself--another Mexican American, an Hispanic of other origin, a Mexican national, an Anglo American. While he didn't object to the labels 'Hispanic/Hispano' or 'Latino,' they just weren't specific enough to distinguish country of origin, an important distinction for him. He made the comparison of

Asian American vs. Japanese American and Chinese American. The label 'Chicano' did carry an activist connotation for him that he would not claim for himself. He couldn't claim 'Texican', he said, because that was historically for those Spanish-speaking citizens of Mexico living in the area that was to become Texas, helping the Anglos fight for its independence.

Because Tony insisted on including his identity as American first, his Mexican origin while rejecting more general as well as more radical labels, I assigned his 'AM' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (A high score in Factor IV for Keefe and Padilla characterizes a subject's preferences for associating with Mexicans and to eat Mexican food; a low score would characterize a subject's preference for associating with non-Mexicans and to disprefer Mexican food.) Tony claimed that he associated primarily with family, all Mexican American though not all Spanish-speaking. He also spoke enthusiastically of his wife Armonda's excellent Mexican American cooking. Most holidays and every Sunday is spent at home with his extended family, enjoying his wife's special dishes. My analysis of the data for this factor was a solid 'M', Mexican American.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation:

This axis, as described by Keefe and Padilla, "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits (for example, language, history, culture heroes) of the traditional and host cultures" (p. 46), and includes the dimensions of cultural heritage and 'ethnic pride' of the respondent, his/her spouse, his/her parents, and perceived discrimination. These factors, in interaction with those of the first axis,

Ethnic Loyalty, were used to assign their subjects to types, either more Chicano or more Anglo. Again, the data for my study are presented arranged in 'factors' ordered similarly to those of Keefe and Padilla, analysed as more or less Mexican American **and** more or less Anglo/anglophone, but these data did not fit neatly into Keefe and Padilla's Chicano (oriented to Mexico)/Anglo continuum, as discussed in the analysis of the family in 4.3.

Respondent's cultural heritage: (A high score in Factor I, Respondent's cultural heritage, was assigned by Keefe and Padilla to those who knew Spanish but no English and who used Spanish media, who had a Spanish first name, who had Mexican peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in Mexico and immigrated later in life, who went to school in Mexico, who knew Mexican cultural symbols and events, who went to Mexico often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little Spanish, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had Anglo peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in the United States or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the U.S., who did not know Mexican cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to Mexico.)

The patriarch of the family, Tony stated that he was born in the San Antonio area of Mexican parents. His family spoke only Spanish at home though he learned English at school. There were few Mexican American families in the area where he grew up, but he reported that he was not well-accepted by the Anglo children so he played mostly in Spanish with his Mexican American friends and continued to use English only in school. He left school after the 10th

grade to join the Navy, getting his GED and taking a few college hours upon his discharge from military service. He recently retired from a career as a federal employee in which he claimed he spoke primarily English.

Tony claimed Spanish as his first language but stated that he speaks Spanish and English equally well. He rated his abilities to speak both English and Spanish quite high, 9 and 8, respectively, on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent). I was struck by his rich vocabulary, despite his level of formal education, and noted as well very little accentedness in his English. He rated his writing abilities at 9 in English and 5 in Spanish since he admitted that, not having had formal instruction in Spanish, he had taught himself to read and write with books, newspapers and the magazines that his Spanish-speaking father brought home and later with Spanish-English dictionaries. He reported that he considered himself conpletely bilingual. He acknowledged codeswitching, sometimes because he didn't know a word or phrase in one language, sometimes because what he wanted to convey was better said in one language than the other. He also attested that codeswitching was a very common and perfectly acceptable practice in his speech community. He did not acknowledge having heard any negative characterizations of the variety of Spanish he spoke.

The holidays celebrated in his family are traditional American and Catholic ones: Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's, Easter, Fourth of July, marked by family get togethers and much food traditional among Mexican Americans in San Antonio. Other traditions mentioned that are specifically of Mexican origin were *cascarones* for Easter (blown out eggs decorated and filled

with confetti and glitter) and mariachi bands, as well as wedding traditions with the *lazo* lasso (the bride and groom are physically bound together with two attached rosaries to symbolize their spiritual union) and the giving of *arras* coins (13 coins--usually dimes--the groom gives to the bride to symbolize his willingness to provide for the family). Neither his daughter, Norma, nor his grandaughter, Alyssa, had had a *quinceañera* (a debut party for the fifteenth birthday) but the family had attended many among cousins and other close friends. Traditional Mexican holidays were not acknowledged by the family, though Tony said that he and his wife were aware of the importance of these dates. The cultural icon chosen to represent his community was the recently deceased Mexican American (Democratic) Texas Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez, (Henry B. pronounced with English phonology and Gonzalez with Spanish) who worked tirelessly for many years to pass legislation favorable to Mexican Americans. Both Tony and his wife knew also of Cesar Chavez, the Mexican American civil rights activist of the 1960's and 1970's, and Henry Cisneros, former mayor of San Antonio who continues to impact state and federal politics, but the other personality mentioned was an older (deceased) Mexican comedian and movie star, Cantinflas.

Again, I found difficulty in fitting my analysis of Tony's reponses into the typology of Keefe and Padilla's very binary model. It seems very much that Tony is not giving up Mexican culture in assimilating to Anglo culture but is instead bringing parts of both cultures together into his Mexican American identity, certainly underlining the problems of binary models and the difficulty of

representing ethnicity. Tony claims to be bilingual; he has a Spanish legal name but he goes by the Anglicized version; though his childhood peers were and his current social network is Mexican American, he does not prefer Spanish stores or media to English; he admitted little cultural knowledge of Mexico yet quite a bit of Mexican American and American. In recognition of his bicultural orientation, I assigned Tony 'MA' in this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (Scores in Factor II, Spouse's cultural heritage, were assigned similarly by Keefe and Padilla about the respondent's spouse who knew Spanish but no English and who used Spanish media, who had a Spanish first name, who had Mexican peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in Mexico and immigrated later in life, who went to school in Mexico, who knew Mexican cultural symbols and events, who went to Mexico often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little Spanish, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had Anglo peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in the United States or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the U.S., who did not know Mexican cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to Mexico.) The data collected from Tony's wife Armonda are described in more detail in 4.2.2. Because her orientation is appreciably more Mexican American, I assigned Tony 'M(A)' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (Scores in Factor III, Parents' cultural heritage, were assigned by Keefe and Padilla about the subject's parents who knew Spanish but no English and who used Spanish media, who had a

Spanish first name, who had Mexican peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in Mexico and immigrated later in life, who went to school in Mexico, who knew Mexican cultural symbols and events, who went to Mexico often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little Spanish, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had Anglo peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in the United States or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the U.S., who did not know Mexican cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to Mexico.) By all accounts, Tony's parents were monolingual Spanish-speakers from Mexico who did not demonstrate appreciable orientation to the Anglo culture after moving to this country. I assigned Tony 'M' for this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (High scores in Factor IV, Perceived discrimination, indicated to Keefe and Padilla that the respondent perceived group and personal discrimination; low scores indicated the perception of little/no group or personal discrimination.) As mentioned, Tony was not well accepted by the Anglo children in his neighborhood, though he could recall no particular incident other than name-calling. He recalled that upon his release from the Navy and traveling back to Texas, he was almost refused service in a restaurant in the Deep South because they thought he was black. He had spent eight months in the sun in Puerto Rico and was heavily tanned, but one of his Anglo friends convinced the restaurant owner that he was indeed not black. He acknowledged hearing about problems of discrimination against Mexican Americans in San Antonio, but he said he never "went looking for trouble." Because he admitted hearing of

discrimination while denying ever to have experienced it, Tony is rated 'A(M)' for this factor.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview and as visually represented in the chart below, I characterize Tony as bicultural in his identity, closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III, but with a pronounced difference. He shares almost equal amounts of cultural heritage, language preference and cultural identification, but of United States and Mexican American--not Mexican--cultures despite his Mexican parents' heritage. However, he chooses to reinforce his Mexican American identity over his anglophone American identity in his social network, primarily family. It is important to note, however, that bicultural does not necessarily mean fitting in perfectly well in both cultures. Quite the contrary, Tony would be marked as 'bicultural' in both cultures, US American as well as Mexican.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	AM	MA	AM	M
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	MA	M(A)	M	A(M)

Table 4.1. **Tony. Subject SA-I-1.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.2 *Armonda*. SA-I-2

Tony------**Armonda**
SA-I-1 **SA-I-2**

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.3. **Armonda.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Armonda is the wife of Tony, the mother of Norma, Pete, and George (and another son who did not participate in this study), the mother-in-law of Rick, the grandmother of Little Rick and Alyssa (and two other grandchildren who did not participate in this study.) She was 66 years old at the time of this interview. She was interviewed simultaneously with her husband Tony. As noted, he led the responses while she added her own comments afterward, usually echoing her husband with "For me too." Armonda claimed Spanish as her first and preferred language but reported speaking both equally well; she admitted not reading or writing Spanish, having had no formal instruction in it. Like her husband, she reported speaking Spanish with her spouse and siblings 75% of time but English with younger generations, acknowledging frequent codeswitching in the speech community. She also claimed affiliation with the Democratic party. My interpretation of the data reported by Armonda is found visually displayed in Table 4.2.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:46)

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The matriarch of the San Antonio family was interviewed simultaneously with her husband; the English version of the consent letter was orally explained to them. All informal interchanges were also in English. The English of Armonda had slightly more Spanish accent than her husband's and was not marked by such a rich vocabulary. All Spanish names and words were pronounced using Spanish phonology, except for her sons' names. She tended to echo her husband's general comments and attitudes, adding some anecdotal evidence of her own more home-oriented experiences.

The legal name of Armonda is indeed Spanish and she goes by a markedly Mexican American nickname. However, all three sons have English legal names and nicknames, and the daughter's and granddaughter's names are relatively unmarked as particularly Spanish or English, though she pronounced the daughter's name with Spanish phonology.

Armonda claimed Spanish as her first and preferred language though maintaining that she spoke English almost as well. However, her formal education through high school was all in English, she speaks English with a slight Spanish accent and she never learned to read or write Spanish. She claimed to speak Spanish with most of her family and friends 75% of the time, codeswitching freely like others in the speech community, but English with the younger generations of her family.

According to Keefe and Padilla's criteria (after all, there are other ways to operationalize such a factor), Armonda is appreciably more Mexican American in her orientation in this factor than her husband. Her name and nickname are both Spanish, and she claimed to prefer to speak Spanish over English. However, her non-Spanish-speaking children have English names and she cannot read or write Spanish. To indicate this I assigned 'M(A)' in this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Armonda professed no preference and acknowledged frequenting both Spanish and English stores and media. However, she did acknowledge watching almost daily the "telenovelas," very popular Spanish-language soap operas on television (generally acknowledged as very much a part of the Mexican American culture), remarking that there were occasional words or expressions that she knew as "proper Spanish from the interior of Mexico." She reported that she regarded both languages as practical for life, especially in San Antonio. She lives with her husband in a mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone. Armonda has remained in the home since her graduation from high school, having been a housewife and mother, a common role for Mexican American women, even more common for them than for Anglo women of that generation. She claimed that her previous and current social network is almost exclusively Mexican American. To indicate the strength of her Mexican American orientation while acknowledging the role of English in her practical life, I assigned Armonda 'M(A)' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When I first asked her ethnicity, Armonda claimed 'Mexican origin'. She agreed with Tony's assessment of the various labels but added that 'Tex-Mex' didn't seem to her to be very respectful, more like a mixture, and a name more associated with food than with people. Because she didn't disagree with any of Tony's statements on the subject, I assigned her the same 'AM'.

Ethnic social orientation : (preferences in association and food) Armonda is the celebrated cook of the family, who professed trying to maintain the culinary traditions of both her and her husband's Mexican mothers. Favorite family recipes often are traced to Mexico, but she admitted getting out of the local newspaper or from friends recipes for dishes that were particular to San Antonio. Specialties made on a regular basis and for holidays include homemade tortillas, beans and rice, enchiladas, mole, menudo, arroz con pollo, fajitas, tamales, buñuelos, and capirotada (a kind of bread pudding). In addition to family get-togethers for holidays, a fajita barbeque for July 4th for example, Armonda usually cooked a Sunday dinner attended by most of the immediate family who live close by.

Armonda claimed that she associated primarily with Spanish-speaking Mexican American friends and family, though the younger generation speaks mostly English. Because of her overwhelming Mexican American social orientation, I assigned 'M' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:46)

Respondent's cultural heritage : (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Armonda, like her husband Tony, was also born in the San Antonio area of Mexican parents. Her family spoke only Spanish at home, and she learned English at school. Unlike Tony, however, as a child her neighborhood was predominantly Mexican American, so most of her classmates and playmates were also Spanish-speakers; they spoke English in class but Spanish on the playground. Armonda completed her high school education and married while remaining in this predominantly Mexican American neighborhood. Armonda is a retired homemaker, having had limited experience outside the home, raising her children and keeping house, but since a move with her husband in the mid-1960's to a predominately Anglo neighborhood reportedly in order to secure better education for the children, she has had enriched daily contact with English.

Armonda did not exhibit as much confidence in her linguistic abilities as her husband, though she has marginally more formal education in English than he but probably less practical experience, especially since he was in the military. She rated her ability to speak both English and Spanish reasonably high, 7 and 8, respectively (Spanish slightly higher), but her writing lower in Spanish, 7 and 2,

having had no formal instruction and lacking her husband's self-taught experience with written Spanish. She also acknowledged codeswitching freely and without stigmatization as well as her own tendency to speak in Spanish when angry or upset. She did claim to have continued speaking to the children in Spanish after their move to the Northside; she noted that they would respond to her in English, but demonstrating that they had understood her.

Armonda mostly nodded her head in agreement as Tony discussed the holidays celebrated in their family. Her only remarks were about the *cascarones*: she had made tens of dozens for family and friends, and of course all the food.

Again, not fitting into Keefe and Padilla's model, Armonda combines both cultures but in a way more Mexican American than her husband. Her first name and nickname are Spanish; her childhood peers and classmates were Mexican American despite using English at school; though she acknowledged use of both Spanish and English language stores and media, she indicated a preference for *telenovelas*; she rated her speaking abilities about equal but her writing and reading much stronger in English due to her education; she had good knowledge of Mexican American culture and practiced many Mexican American traditions though none that were specifically Mexican. In light of this, I assigned 'M(A)' for this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of

schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Tony, as discussed in 4.2.1, was assigned 'MA' in this factor due to his bicultural orientation.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parent's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Like Tony's parents, Armonda's were monolingual Spanish-speakers from Mexico who reportedly did not learn much English or adapt to the Anglo culture after moving to this country. I assigned Armonda 'M' for this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

Armonda did not echo any of her husband's comments about discrimination. When I asked her pointedly of any recollection, she could recall no instance. For this reason only I assigned her 'A' for this factor.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview, visually displayed below, I characterize Armonda as strongly Mexican American in her identity though she identifies herself as American and can't recall a single instance of discrimination based on her choice of language, her physical appearance or any other markers of her ethnic background. Her accommodation of English in language preference, ethnic pride, her own and her spouse's cultural heritage led me to define her as most closely conforming to Keefe and Padilla's Type II, though it is again striking how oppositionally Keefe and Padilla analyzed the factors.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n

	M(A)	M(A)	AM	M
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	M(A)	MA	M	A

Table 4.2. **Armonda. Subject SA-I-2.** Most closely conforming to **Type II** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.3 *Norma*. SA-II-3

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----*Richard (Rick)* *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.4. **Norma.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Norma is the only daughter of Tony and Armonda, the wife of Rick, the sister of Pete and George, the mother of Little Rick and Alyssa. She was 39 years old at the time of this interview. She was interviewed simultaneously with her husband Rick. When first asked, Norma claimed English as her first language though she later acknowledged that Spanish was the home language until she was about four years old. She did not claim to be bilingual, reporting minimal comprehension of spoken Spanish and preferring English in all situations, though

she acknowledged hearing codeswitching by others in her family and community. She also claimed affiliation with the Democratic party. My interpretation of the data reported by Norma is found visually displayed in Table 4.3.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The only daughter of Tony and Armonda and the second oldest of the four children, Norma was interviewed simultaneously with her husband. All informal interchanges before and after the formal interview were in English; the only words with Spanish phonology occurred during the discussion of foods and family traditions. Norma stated that she uses English exclusively though she expressed regret at not understanding friends, at not knowing her heritage language and not having passed it on to her children.

The legal first name of Norma is not particularly marked as being of Spanish origin, and she pronounced it with no marked phonology, but her husband's family name, her married name, she pronounced with Spanish phonology. Neither of her English-speaking children has a particularly Spanish-sounding given name.

Norma's responses in this factor were overwhelming oriented toward English; but because she did use some Spanish phonology and expressed regret at having "lost" her first language, I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Norma claimed to prefer anglophone stores and media due to the lack of linguistic skills in Spanish. However, she reported that she regarded both languages as practical for life, especially in San Antonio. She lives with her husband Rick in the same mixed neighborhood that she grew up in. Most of her friends and co-workers at the military base where she worked for 19 years were characterized as 'Hispanic' and spoke Spanish among themselves, leading her to say "...[it] makes me feel kind of weird...that I should [know Spanish]...that's my heritage and I don't speak the language".

For her daily living, Norma must rely on English. Despite her lack of linguistic skill in Spanish, however, Norma still preferred to associate with Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans over English-speaking Anglos. Interestingly, Norma did not specifically mention English-speaking Mexican Americans, though it would have been interesting to have examined her binary division with additional questioning ("What about monolingual English-speaking Mexican Americans?"). I assigned 'MA' in this factor to capture her preference in association while having to rely on the language of the 'other' culture.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) Norma claimed her ethnicity as Hispanic, never having heard the label 'Texican' and judging 'Chicano' to be too politically radical. Because she claimed to interpret the label 'Hispanic' as indicating a non-anglo identity without overtly claiming her (Mexican) origin, and because this is a label favored by

demographers in census information collection and official forms, I assigned Norma 'A(M)' for this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Norma stated that her current associations are with a mixed group who speak mostly English but "I have one good friend that's white". She reported that the constituency of the church she attends is mostly Hispanic, her husband adding "you know, when you're Catholic...", by which he seemed to imply that Catholic churches of the area have largely Mexican American congregations.

While Norma sheepishly admitted she wasn't a great cook (with her husband concurring), she asserted that she had fondest memories of her mother's cooking, particularly the rice, beans and flour tortillas she used to prepare almost daily. Norma and her family are regular dinner guests at her parents's home.

Because of Norma's strong preferences for Mexican American friends and food, I assigned 'M' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Norma eventually reported speaking mostly Spanish with her immediate family, extended family and neighbors for the first four years of her life. As discussed above, at that time, her parents and older brother and she moved from a mostly Mexican American neighborhood on San

Antonio's Westside to a primarily Anglo neighborhood on the Northside in order for the children to attend better schools. Whereas most of her playmates had been Spanish speakers before, from that time forward her new classmates were almost exclusively Anglo and English speakers, and she herself began speaking English at home as well. This narrative contrasted with her response of "only English" at the beginning of the interview to the question of what her native or first languages had been. She stated that her parents spoke English to the children and Spanish among themselves and with their parents (her grandparents) who were from Mexico. Her grandparents spoke only Spanish, so she admitted understanding it as a small child, but she only remembered answering in English. It was much later in the interview that she recounted the move and language preference change.

Subsequently, Norma didn't rate her linguistic skills in Spanish, claiming minimal comprehension. She reportedly studied some Spanish in middle school and French in high school though she claims to not speak any of that language either. She reported using English exclusively.

Norma has the least amount of formal education of her generation, though her husband Rick has a Ph.D. She reported that after completing high school, she was instead encouraged to get a good job, to find a good husband and raise a nice family. She is a secretary at one of the large military bases in San Antonio and aspires to a position in personnel, perhaps as a staffing specialist. She has only recently begun work at this base and remarked upon the difference in the make-up of her co-workers, who are predominantly 'white'. She claimed that the

personnel at her previous job at a different military base also in San Antonio were predominantly 'Hispanic'.

She reported participating regularly in her family's cultural traditions and mentioned in particular her mother's cooking. She acknowledged celebrating neither "el Dieciséis de Septiembre" (a Mexican holiday celebrating independance from Spain) nor "el Cinco de Mayo" (a Mexican holiday celebrating independance from France) in her family or even knowing much about their importance to the Mexican culture. She did not have a *quinceañera* or have one for her daughter, though they all attended those of her cousins and other friends. Special traditions mentioned included mariachis, the lasso, the dimes at weddings.

Norma is appreciably more anglophone in her cultural heritage than in other factors. She is also more anglophone in this factor than her parents. She claims to know only English and so prefers English media; her name is not markedly Spanish though it can be pronounced (and is by others) with Spanish phonology; her peers in childhood were predominantly Anglo (after the age of four); her schooling was all in English; her knowledge of Mexican cultural symbols and events is negligible and of Mexican American culture much less than her parents. The rating 'A(M)' reflects her strongly anglophone orientation while acknowledging Mexican American influence.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of

schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Norma's husband Rick (SA-II-4) is even more oriented toward English and American culture than she. I rated him 'A' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Both Norma's parents were rated as bicultural, though Armonda was rated as more Mexican American while Tony was rated almost evenly balanced. Because her mother probably had more influence in day to day life at home, I'll assign her rating 'M(A)' to this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

Norma's most explicit memories of discrimination centered around some name-calling and being teased in the school cafeteria about her taco lunches. She reported that in high school, the various cliques of students were pronounced in their division along "racial" lines. For her, this discrimination centered on her habits, her physical appearance and her name, all of which she seemed to feel marked her as not Anglo. She did remember being called by her Spanish speaking co-workers "coconut--brown on the outside, white on the inside--what's wrong with you? You don't speak Spanish? You're supposed to." She denied any personal experience with institutional discrimination. Because she recalled specific instances of personal discrimination while denying institutional discrimination, Norma is assigned 'M(A)' for this factor.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview and as visually represented in the chart below, I characterize Norma as being more oriented to anglophone American culture than Mexican American, particularly in her language preference and cultural heritage. She continues, however, many of her parents' Mexican American traditions and chooses to associate primarily with other Mexican Americans. Norma recalled instances of personal discrimination based on her name, her food, her appearance--even intra-ethnic comments about her lack of Spanish skills. Since I didn't consider Norma biculturally balanced, I feel she conforms more closely to Keefe and Padilla's Type IV.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	A(M)	MA	A(M)	M
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	A	M(A)	M(A)

Table 4.3. **Norma. Subject SA-II-3.** Most closely conforming to **Type IV** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.4 *Rick*. SA-II-4

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

*Norma----**Richard (Rick)*** *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 **SA-II-4** SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.5. **Rick.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Rick is the only son-in-law of Tony and Armonda, the husband of Norma, the brother-in-law of Pete and George, the father of Little Rick and Alyssa. He was 41 years old at the time of this interview. He was interviewed simultaneously with his wife Norma, and was considered as a subject because he has been a part of the family for twenty-five years. Rick claimed English as his only language though he reported he has read documents in Spanish as one duty of his former job and studied Spanish for a college semester. Rick explicitly distinguished between the Spanish spoken in San Antonio and the "correct" Spanish learned in the classroom. He also claimed affiliation with the Democratic party. My interpretation of the data reported by Rick is found visually displayed in Table 4.4.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) My interview with Rick and Norma was conducted entirely in English, the English consent form was signed, and Rick declared English to be his only language. He pronounced his English legal name with English phonology, his Spanish family name with mild Spanish phonology. Neither of their English-speaking children has a particularly Spanish given name. Contrary to the regret expressed by his wife, Rick expressed little regret about his

lack of skills in Spanish and resistance in the face of recounted intra-ethnic reprimands about those skills though he believed both languages practical for living in Texas.

In view of Rick's defiantly English orientation to language preference, I assigned 'A' for this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Rick claimed to prefer English media and to frequent anglophone stores because of his lack of linguistic skills in Spanish. The neighborhood where he grew up and where he lives with most of the rest of his extended family is now mixed Mexican American and Anglo but it was historically Anglo. However, most of his friends and associates outside the family are reportedly Mexican American. I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When asked about his claim of the label of Hispanic Mexican, Rick stated that that name was more specific as to his family's origin, but he continued all the while repudiating the basic value of labels. For him (and, reportedly, for his father), the term 'Mexican American' is a splintering of the American identity--"either you're American or you're not." The label "Tejano...dates back a long ways but ...nowadays...people identify it with music." 'Latino' for him was too general. 'Chicano' was too radical and associated with the Brown Berets, a group of militant Mexican American activists in the 1960's and 1970's. Because of this contrast in claims to identity--not a splintered American identity

but a claim of his origin despite disdain for the idea of labels--I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Rick reported that his family attends the predominantly Mexican American Catholic church Norma discussed. Rick and his family reportedly spend a lot of time with Norma's family and other Mexican American friends. Most celebrations seem centered around Mexican American food. I assigned 'M' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Rick's legal name is English (Richard) as is his nickname. His middle name, however, is that of a Catholic saint. Though also born on the Westside of San Antonio, Rick's childhood experiences were markedly different from Norma's family's and his responses are indicators of this. Rick asserted that his father, who was also from San Antonio, made the conscious decision to "protect us and to insure us of having a future" by raising his children in English; "In his words, he wanted us to be 'masters of the English language.'" So Rick spoke only English both in his home and at school. He correspondingly rates his skills in English at 10 while his skills in Spanish very low (no speaking, very little understanding of spoken and marginally more understanding of written Spanish). He claimed to prefer English media due to the lack of skills in Spanish.

Rick did subsequently recall understanding his Spanish-speaking grandparents as a child but answering them in English. While not able to codeswitch himself, Rick acknowledged its prevalence in San Antonio. He also referred to "Tex-Mex" as "not proper Spanish," recounting that his Mexican American mother had a hard time understanding and being understood by Mexicans from the interior primarily because of lexical items she used. He remembered that his "trilingual" father would get angry if he spoke "slang" with him--"he didn't like the language butchered...cheapening the language," his father reportedly associating use of "Tex-Mex" with an inferior social background. Both Rick's parents were college graduates and reportedly victims of discrimination. He credited them with making the best decision at the time, enabling him to learn English well enough to get a Ph.D.

Rick recalled that about half his childhood playmates were Hispanic and half Anglo, again primarily because of living with few other Mexican American families in a predominantly Anglo neighborhood.

The tradition Rick recalled as distinctly non-Anglo was birthday parties with tarot cards, decorations, games and piñatas with different snacks served including *chicharrones* (fried pork skins) and fruit drinks. He also mentioned that the most pervasively "Spanish" environment (food, language, holidays, family celebrations of co-workers) he had experienced, far beyond that at home, had been at the military base where he and his wife had worked for 19 years.

Rick's cultural heritage is again mixed in ways that are difficult to reflect with Keefe and Padilla's model. His given name is English though notably

Catholic in a city where many non-Hispanics are Catholic but the majority are Protestant; his schooling and homelife, almost exclusively in English (except for his grandparents whom he answered in English), assured little skill in Spanish and so his preference for English in all situations; however, he had English-speaking Mexican American friends as a child and continues to associate primarily with Mexican Americans currently. To reflect the overriding anglophone orientation of his heritage while indicating his preference for associating with (English-speaking) Mexican Americans, I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) The data pertaining to Norma's responses has been detailed above in 4.2.3. She was rated 'A(M)' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Evidently, Rick's parents spoke both English and Spanish (and his father another language as well), their parents having come from Mexico, but chose to raise Rick and the other children in an anglophone home. Based on the little information contained in Rick's responses, I assigned his parents 'A(M)' for this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

Most of Rick's discussion centered on discrimination and racism. He mentioned problems with discrimination in high school with the white "kickers," (a social group, in the vein of 'jocks' and 'geeks', who are distinguished by ultra-conservative and usually racially discriminatory views and by their preferred footwear, boots) but he reported that he also wasn't accepted by the "Mexican kids" who spoke Spanish and kept to themselves. He, too, claimed that San Antonio has very distinct neighborhoods distributed geographically, mentioning a part of town where he swims that is very Hispanic and another swimming pool where he really "sticks out" because of his skin color. His experiences with discrimination, particularly in high school, were much more pronounced than those mentioned by the other subjects and seemed to still sting. He recounted that he didn't feel support from his school administration in confronting the bullies and instead bonded with his English-dominant Mexican American friends. He mentioned specifically, however, intra-ethnic discrimination reportedly due primarily to his high level of education, "Don't forget where you came from, man" and absence of linguistic skills in Spanish, "you're a coconut." "I worked my way through college for years. You can't tell me I need to stay in blue-collar to be true to my race." He also reported knowing he has been pulled over by the police just because he was Hispanic, though it was perhaps more likely that he is both Hispanic and male. While most of the experiences Rick recalled were personal discrimination, he gave examples of both inter- and intra-ethnic discrimination and implied institutional racism in some of his remarks. I assign him 'M' for this factor, though his remarks might be best classified as 'not A.'

On the basis of this data visually displayed in the chart below, I characterize Rick as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type IV, but very different from his wife Norma. Rick is almost absolutely anglophone, often defiantly so, as a result of his childhood, his homelife, his schooling and his parents' influence. At the same time, Rick is strongly Mexican American in his social orientation and affiliation as well as his perception of discrimination because of his ethnic background, discrimination not only by Anglos but also by other Mexican Americans because of his lack of skills in Spanish. This conflict of identities has not led to a sense that he is bicultural, and certainly not bilingual, but that he has attempted to assimilate into Anglo culture with mixed results while not acculturating entirely, at least partly because he hasn't been permitted to do so. He doesn't seem to feel a true part of the Mexican American community because of his lack of Spanish and his advanced level of education, yet he doesn't feel accepted in the Anglo community because of his name and the physical characteristics that mark his ethnic background.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	A	MA	MA	M
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	A(M)	A(M)	M

Table 4.4. **Rick. Subject SA-II-4.** Most closely conforming to **Type IV** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.5 *Peter*. SA-II-5

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) SA-II-3 SA-II-4 | ***Peter (Pete)*** **SA-II-5** | *George* SA-II-6

Little Rick SA-III-7 *Alyssa* SA-III-8

Figure 4.6. **Pete.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Pete is a son of Tony and Armonda, the brother of Norma and George, the uncle of Little Rick and Alyssa. He was 38 years old at the time of this interview. He was interviewed by speakerphone since he now lives in California with his son who was not interviewed for this study. Pete claimed English as his first and only language, claiming to have not studied Spanish nor to have used it even with his Mexican American (ex-)wife. He claimed no political affiliation. My interpretation of the data reported by Pete is found visually displayed in Table 4.5.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The legal name and nickname of Peter are not Spanish, and he used a distinctly English pronunciation when asked his family name. All interchanges were in English that revealed no influence of Spanish

phonology. He claimed English as his first language. He acknowledged unstigmatized codeswitching among all the Spanish-speakers of his family (parents, aunts and uncles). He vividly remembered rejecting Spanish from his grandparents, "Talk to me in English--I was sorta rejecting this because all my friends were talking in English." He recalled that at a certain point his mother had to translate between the generations.

He continued that now he would prefer to be at least a functional bilingual in order to help others who are monolingual, to help a Mexican national with directions, he gave as an example. He attested that most of the younger generation has since realized how useful it is to be bilingual and how important it is to know the culture of one's heritage [Mexican, in this case]. He cited the practicality of bilingualism in the workplace, but said "I'd be too embarassed" to take Spanish classes now since he feels he would be expected to know it already. His (now ex-) wife is fully bilingual, codeswitching frequently, but he reported that she also spoke to their son only in English.

Like his sister Norma, Pete rejected Spanish at home, the result now being that he is monolingual anglophone, but now regrets not being bilingual and not having passed his heritage language to his son. He didn't use any Spanish phonology when discussing traditions at his parents' household so I would be tempted to assign 'A' like his brother-in-law Rick; however, because he expressed regret at not being bilingual instead of the defiant assertion by Rick that skills in Spanish shouldn't be expected just because it's the heritage language, I instead assigned 'A(M)' in this factor, like his sister.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Like the other monolingual anglophone members of the second generation, Pete claimed to prefer anglophone environments and media due to his lack of skills in Spanish. He and his (now ex-) wife had lived in the same environment where he grew up, currently a mixed Anglo-Mexican American neighborhood that was historically Anglo. He had moved to California just six months before the interview took place to a commuting neighborhood that was mixed anglophone and allophone, mostly Chinese and Indian, software engineers and their families. He reported that few of his colleagues or peers since high school had been Mexican American. Because of this almost completely anglophone orientation, I assigned 'A' for this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When presented with the list of labels from which to choose, Pete said he preferred 'Hispanic' though he mentioned that the current term in California is 'Latino'. He clarified that he does consider himself Hispanic even if his Spanish is limited to just a few words. He traced his memory of this particular label to forms he filled out in school--"you're not white, you're not black, and you're not Asian, you're Hispanic. So from that point on, I was 'taught' that that's what I am even though I wasn't speaking the commonly used language which was Spanish."

Pete did not mention any conflict about being Hispanic or American, either because he didn't feel the need to emphasize his claim to American

citizenship like his father did (because he was first generation or because he was ex-military) or because he doesn't feel American, just Hispanic. Because I feel the first interpretation is more likely, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Pete reported that he has had few Mexican American peers in his field. However, his ex-wife is a bilingual Mexican American (though they spoke only English in their home), and they spent most holidays with his family, particularly enjoying his mother's cooking. While his anglophone and allophone associations predominate, I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Pete is one of the two sons holding a Ph.D from a public university in Texas, his in San Antonio, and he specifically discussed how important education had been to enable him to cross some boundaries that he encountered. He was the third and last child born when the family lived on the Westside but was a toddler when the family made the move to the historically Anglo Northside and doesn't remember ever learning to speak Spanish.

Pete claimed to understand Spanish better than he can speak it, rating his skills 2.5 and 2 respectively, but never having formally studied Spanish (he took German in high school and is now studying Chinese, which he deemed essential

to his work), he judged his skills in reading Spanish 1.5 and writing, 1. In English, however, he rated his skills at 9.5 across the board.

In his current position as a software engineer in California's Silicon Valley, Pete reported that he is one of a very small minority of Hispanics, most of his colleagues being mostly foreign-born Asian, either Chinese or Indian. As a child, his friends all spoke English even if some of them were Mexican American. The classmates and friends of Peter's childhood were reportedly about half Mexican American and half Anglo through high school, but once in college, because of his computer science major, they were half Anglo and half minority, either Mexican American or Asian.

Pete confirmed that the traditions of the family were passed down primarily through the food his mother prepared, noting that he especially missed the Sunday family dinners since his move to California. "Just the smell of my mom's kitchen, I miss that now." Henry B. Gonzalez was again cited as a "groundbreaker I hold in really high esteem." Former San Antonio mayor Henry Cisneros was also mentioned as well as current popular actress/singer Jennifer Lopez, actress Selma Hayak, musician Santana. Peter professed no real knowledge of Mexican history or culture or of other Mexican American figures like Cesar Chavez or political movements like the Chicano movement or the Brown Berets.

Pete's cultural heritage is certainly anglophone dominant. His name, his preference in media, his assessment of his linguistic skills in both languages, his advanced education in English, the predominance of his peers as anglophone or

allophone are not balanced by his nominal knowledge of Mexican American figures. Most San Antonians his age, Anglo, Mexican American, or other, would be able to identify all the figures he mentioned and would probably eat on a regular basis most of the things his mother cooked. I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Pete is not currently married, however, his ex-wife was a bilingual Mexican American from San Antonio who spoke English with Pete and their son but Spanish with many of her friends. Based on this little data, I assigned 'AM' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Pete's parents, Tony and Armonda, have been discussed in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. I assigned 'M(A)' for this factor to reflect Armonda's probably greater day-to-day influence on their children.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

When asked about discrimination, Pete stated that he didn't really believe he had experienced institutional discrimination, citing that by proving himself in the quality of his work because of his good education, nobody could deny him the

opportunities he deserved. Neither did he mention any instances of personal discrimination because of his name, his physical appearance or any other marker of his ethnic background. (I didn't see Pete since I interviewed him by speakerphone but I would have to assume he bears the same physical markers of his ethnic background that the rest of his family does: dark hair and eyes, dark skin.) I assigned 'A' for this factor since Pete perceived absolutely no discrimination.

On the basis of this data visually displayed in the chart below, I characterize Pete as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type V, 'highly Anglicized and identifying little with Mexican culture', though I would re-interpret the latter as Mexican American culture. Though Pete identified himself as Hispanic, reportedly having been trained to check that box on all forms those years in school, though he expresses regret at not knowing Spanish, though his parents ensured that he would have some interaction with other Mexican Americans and their culture, Pete has overwhelming oriented himself to anglophones and English-language environments.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	A(M)	A	MA	A(M)
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	AM	M(A)	A

Table 4.5. **Peter. Subject SA-II-5.** Most closely conforming to **Type V** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.6 *George*. SA-II-6

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) SA-II-3 SA-II-4 | *Peter (Pete)* SA-II-5 | ***George*** **SA-II-6**

Little Rick SA-III-7 | *Alyssa* SA-III-8

Figure 4.7. **George.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

George is a son of Tony and Armonda, the brother of Norma and Pete, the uncle of Little Rick and Alyssa. He was 33 years old at the time of this interview. George claimed English as his first and primary language, stating that he studied Spanish in high school and college and uses it occasionally with his Mexican American wife, though he rated his skills in spoken Spanish very low. He stated his strong intention to teach Spanish to any children he might have in the future, though he did not mention how he planned to accomplish this goal, not speaking Spanish himself. He claimed his political affiliation as "anti-Republican," which surely would not have been listed on any questionnaire. My interpretation of the data reported by George is found visually displayed in Table 4.6.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) George is the youngest of the second generation

interviewed. He was my contact for the family and was interviewed singly. He was the only subject who explicitly stated a sense of obligation in language choice, even if only a ritualistic use of Spanish, constrained by geographic location, "In some cases...I just almost feel obligated to say *'gracias'*...if I'm in a certain part of town or in a certain restaurant." He also explicitly stated that he wished he had the linguistic skills necessary to make language choice, "I wish that I was fluent enough to actually be able to do it [speak Spanish] when I wanted, but I'm not, which is part of my internal dilemma...Spanish is not really my, I don't consider it my native language but it is kinda my mother language, but I'm not fluent in it." He expressed a desire to talk to other Spanish-speakers (not necessarily Mexican American or even Mexican, Puerto Rican in his example) in their heritage language.

The legal name of subject George is not at all Spanish, and he used the English pronunciation of his Spanish family name when first stating his legal name for the researcher. He later indicated that he was aware of making conscious decisions about how he would pronounce his name, taking his audience into account. "If I'm in the white world I'll say [English pronunciation]." He currently is working in the "diversity" section of a major benefits organism of the military and has remarked that his "white" supervisor makes a point of using the Spanish pronunciation of the subject's family name. He recalled an experience while attending a traditionally overwhelmingly Anglo public university in Texas in which his white instructor couldn't pronounce his family name, seeming to

interpret the instructor's attitude by commenting that he thought at the time "It's just like it's spelled...you don't want to even try."

I had difficulty again in capturing the impact of George's responses in Keefe and Padilla's model. While his given name and claimed language are both English, he indicated that he wants very much to be able to claim his heritage language without giving up his English-speaking identity. Since he has studied Spanish in the effort to acquire it, since he tries to use it with other Spanish speakers when possible, and since he indicated his determination to raise bilingual children, I assigned 'AM' for this factor although he accommodates the probable language choice of his interlocuter, including the phonology.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) George lives with his Mexican American wife in the same neighborhood he grew up in, currently mixed Anglo and Mexican American but historically Anglo. Because of his lack of skills in Spanish, he claimed to prefer English environments and media. He acknowledged, however, that he believed that both languages were equally practical. George judged that his current friendships were heavily concentrated among other Mexican Americans though his workplace is reportedly predominantly Anglo. Because he is actively seeking to associate with Mexican Americans despite his low skills in Spanish, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) With respect to labels, George said "In the 70's you would have been 'Chicano', in the 80's...'Hispanic' and now you're 'Latino'." 'Chicano' was

listed as least favorite because of its connotations with the 1970's, "trying to find a place between black and white to fit in." 'Mexican American', for him, would show origin, but George said he was not always sure that the distinction would benefit the group as a whole, "From a political standpoint, 'Hispanic' has more power [bigger numbers]...What helps your cause at the moment?" George's responses showed much more political and historical awareness than those of the rest of his family, in all likelihood due to his job. Because he alligned himself with 'Chicano-Hispanic-Latino' rather than 'Mexican American' strictly to focus political power, I assigned 'M' for this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Because of George's preference to seek associations with Mexican Americans, including spending much time with his family in their celebrations that usually center around food, I assigned 'M' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) George was born after his family had moved to the Northside, so the Spanish that he heard as a child was primarily spoken among his older relatives, who reportedly addressed him and his siblings, however, in English. Late in the interview, he hypothesized that his parents not only moved to get a better education for the children but also deliberately stopped speaking

Spanish to them at home after the move to spare them any discrimination they might face with accented English or limited English skills. (Neither parent had acknowledged the latter motivations, if they indeed existed.)

George has had some formal instruction in Spanish in high school and college mainly, he reported, because he thought it would be the most useful "foreign language" but rated his skills in reading and writing Spanish very low, 3, and his speaking even lower, 2. He evaluated all four skills in English as 10. He acknowledged hearing codeswitching in all Spanish-speakers around him and admitted doing it himself on a very limited basis (due to his lack of linguistic skill) with his wife, who is reportedly fluently bilingual (but who was not considered as a subject for the study since they have been married a relatively short period of time, though the claim she is bilingual is certainly noteworthy.) It is important to note that he has indeed chosen a bilingual wife capable of raising bilingual children rather than an anglophone Mexican American or outgroup member. George claimed that he had heard of the stigmatization that sometimes accompanies codeswitching in other speech communities but didn't believe it exists in San Antonio.

His friends in the predominantly Anglo schools he attended were primarily Hispanic, he set the ratio at 75% Hispanic to 25% Anglo.

Once again, the traditions of the family reportedly center on food and cascarones and wedding traditions and piñatas. He did mention one game not previously mentioned by anyone else, "Mexican Bingo" [*Lotería*]. He also mentioned that he grew up in the 1970's with "more acceptance of intermingling

of the races, more of my little white friends wanting to partake in the fun stuff, like 'Are you having cascarones this year?" The cultural icons that he identified were the family favorites but he mentioned the musician Santana as one that the younger generation might not know was Hispanic and of his generation. He admitted general ignorance about Mexican history.

Though George seems more oriented to English with his name, his low self-rating on his Spanish skills, his preference for English media due to this lack of skills, his high level of education and his lack of Mexican cultural knowledge, he has made the conscious effort to learn Spanish, to use it when possible, to learn more than his siblings about Mexican American culture and to associate primarily with other Mexican Americans. This being the case, I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) George's wife is reported to be bilingual English-Spanish, Mexican American, with a college education. I assigned 'MA' based solely on this information.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) George's parents, Tony and Armonda, have been discussed in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. I assigned 'M(A)' for this

factor to reflect Armonda's probably greater day-to-day influence on their children.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

George reported that he frequently experienced intra-ethnic discrimination due to lack of fluency in Spanish and recounted a memorable occasion which occurred at a local grocery store where he was working, "What's wrong with you, why don't you know your language?' and I would come back 'I do know my language; my language is English." Now he reflected that he should have responded, "One of my languages is English and who are you to say what language I should know?" George echoed his brother-in-law Rick in hazarding that intraethnic discrimination is more prevalent in the predominantly Anglo Northside than the historically Mexican American Westside probably because the Spanish-speaker who makes it in the Northside is more educated, more affluent and more likely to say to one another "Don't forget where you came from" whereas, on the Westside it would be "Well, you're one of the ones that made it so keep going', and it may be more likely that they may be, I don't want to say subservient, but less likely to want to be in a conflict." He didn't recall facing any overt forms of discrimination, but his impression is that institutional discrimination exists, for example, in standardized testing that is culturally biased or in tracking students. He also cited current Republican policy and leaders in the Republican party as perpetuating institutional racism. He stated his position that racism would always exist but that changes could be made in how socially acceptable its expression would be. "I don't think you can change people's

beliefs and attitudes quickly, but I think if you can require them to behave a certain way, then eventually, maybe, things will change. 'I can't tell you how to think but I can tell you how to behave."

Having cited several examples of both personal and group discrimination, George was assigned 'M' for this factor.

On the basis of this data visually displayed in the chart below, I characterize George as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III, but still very different from his father Tony who was also characterized as Type III. George was more oriented toward the Mexican American pole than his father as far as his cultural identity and perception of discrimination while being more oriented toward the anglophone pole in his own heritage as well as that of his wife and parents, probably the direct result of being second generation in Texas.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	AM	MA	M	M
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	MA	M(A)	M

Table 4.6. **George. Subject SA-II-6.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.7 *Little Rick*. SA-III-7

Tony------Armonda

SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick *Alyssa*
SA-III-7 SA-III-8

Figure 4.8. **Little Rick.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Little Rick is the grandson of Tony and Armonda, the son of Norma and Rick, the nephew of Pete and George, the brother of Alyssa. He was 20 years old at the time of the interview. He claimed English as his only language though he has studied Spanish for two years at the university level and taken a recent trip to the interior of Mexico. Little Rick asserted, however, that he intends one day to marry a Spanish-speaking woman who can help him raise bilingual children. He claimed affiliation with the Democratic party. My interpretation of the data reported by Little Rick is found displayed in Table 4.7.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The legal name of Little Rick is not Spanish though his middle name is a Catholic saint (like his father, though a different saint). He pronounced his Spanish family name with mildly Spanish phonology. His nickname is English. Little Rick reported that he regrets not knowing

Spanish, "I really wish I came up learning it--it would help a lot" with traveling to Mexico (with his grandfather to trace relatives) and at work. He stated that he intended to continue learning Spanish and could conceive of a time when he might be able to consciously choose which language to use in each situation.

While Little Rick, like his father for whom he is named, has an English name and nickname, though it is notably Catholic thanks to his middle name. He claimed to be monolingual English but did express a desire to learn Spanish and to raise bilingual children in the future. I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor based on these responses.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Little Rick claimed that his friends were Hispanic and white in approximately equal numbers. He lived with his family in the same neighborhood as his grandparents and uncles and cousins, though there are reportedly many more Mexican Americans in the historically Anglo neighborhood than there were when his parents were growing up. Little Rick acknowledged that he preferred English media and stores because of his lack of skills in Spanish. I assigned 'AM' for this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) While he finally identified himself as Hispanic, Little Rick had been deeply affected by a chance encounter with an Hispanic-looking young American woman while traveling recently in Mexico City. As a result of the conversation he had with her, which he declined to recount in detail, he still felt defensive about the process of labeling and about the real meaning of 'Hispanic' as that was

the term he had heard at school, "checking off Hispanic on everything [forms]." I interpreted this hesitation to currently ascribe a label to himself that had previously been unquestioned for him indicated that Little Rick was rethinking his self-identification. I chose to assign him 'MA' for this factor, without having further details.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Since Little Rick claimed that he associated with almost equal numbers of Anglos and Mexican Americans, and since he did not express as strongly as the older generations his preference for Mexican American food, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Little Rick and his sister Alyssa were born in the same Northside San Antonio neighborhood in which their parents had grown up and to which their grandparents had moved in the mid-1960's from the predominantly Mexican American Westside in order to secure a better education for the family. Little Rick attended the high school that his parents and uncles had also attended and where his sister is currently a student, though he reported that there are now more Mexican Americans living in this historically Anglo neighborhood.

Little Rick rated his skills in English as 10 in speaking and 9 in writing and his skills in Spanish as very low. He is currently a student at a large state university in a nearby city and has taken some Spanish classes both in high school and one semester in college. He reported noticing a big difference in the number of different minorities and much more difficulty in "fitting in" on this university campus whose population is 50% white than in his bicultural hometown of San Antonio, with its large Mexican American population and relatively few other minorities. He is currently an undeclared Liberal Arts student but has considered majoring in music, in physics, and in education.

Little Rick reported being approached in Spanish often at work (in a retail electronic store in a neighborhood with a large Hispanic predominantly Mexican American population in the university town) because, he said, the customers must think he "looks like he ought to be able to speak Spanish." He also reported occaionally hearing his grandparents use Spanish with each other and with their siblings (great-aunts and -uncles), not with him or his sister, and "they kind of mix it up with English and Spanish." Otherwise, he did not report hearing or using Spanish with any of his classmates or friends.

Little Rick reportedly participates in the traditions of his multi-generational family. Thanks to the Spanish classes he had taken he reported some knowledge of Mexican and Mexican American history and culture, mentioning artist Frida Kahlo in particular. He did mention the family's favorite politician, Henry B. Gonzalez, though he admitted not knowing much about him. He also

admitted to listening to some rock bands from Mexico since returning from his trip there, in addition to the American rock he had grown up with.

Again, while Little Rick's cultural heritage is strongly oriented to anglophone-- his name, his preference for English media, his low self-rating in Spanish, his level of education--about half his childhood peers were reportedly Mexican American and he has more Mexican cultural knowledge than any of the second generation of his family. I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor to reflect this orientation.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) At the time of the interview, Little Rick was not married nor even seeing anyone seriously. However, he stated his intention to marry a "Hispanic woman who can teach Spanish to our children." Based on that statement, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) The data from my interview with Norma and Rick were discussed in 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 above. They were both assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

When asked if he had experienced discrimination because of markers of his ethnic background, Little Rick said that he didn't think there was wide-spread or institutional problems, but, like his parents, he also mentioned the racial component of the cliques in high school: "There's the preps who are pretty much all white." Then he recalled that one of his first years at high school, there had been a highly publicized "race riot" in the school cafeteria between "the gangster Mexicans and all the white preps...some of them were my friends, gangster-looking Mexicans...I didn't really fit in with them." Although he acknowledged that there would probably always be some discrimination, he thought that in the future more "Hispanics and Spanish-speaking people" would be in higher positions in the workforce. He credited education as the way to achieve equity. While acknowledging some instances of discrimination between groups that affected him personally, Little Rick denied the probability of institutional discrimination. I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

On the basis of this data visually displayed in the chart below, I characterize Little Rick as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III, with knowledge of both cultures to different degrees, bicultural but not bilingual. While an anglophone orientation is dominant in his language preference, ethnic preference, his and his parents' cultural heritage, a Mexican American orientation is dominant in his own and his future spouse's cultural identification as well as his perception of discrimination.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n

	A(M)	AM	MA	MA
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	MA	A(M)	MA

Table 4.7. **Little Rick. Subject SA-III-7.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.2.8 *Alyssa*. SA-III-8

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 SA-I-2

Norma----Richard (Rick) *Peter (Pete)* *George*
SA-II-3 SA-II-4 SA-II-5 SA-II-6

Little Rick ***Alyssa***
SA-III-7 **SA-III-8**

Figure 4.9. **Alyssa.** San Antonio informants.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Alyssa is the granddaughter of Tony and Armonda, the daughter of Norma and Rick, the niece of Pete and George, the sister of Little Rick. She was 17 years old at the time of the interview. She claimed English as her only language, reporting no formal study in Spanish and no linguistic skills. She claimed no political affiliation yet. Alyssa gave the least amount of detail of all the subjects, usually answering my questions with very few words and not picking up any suggested topics for open discussion. My interpretation of the data reported by Alyssa is found displayed in Table 4.8.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification: "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Alyssa was interviewed with her brother; all exchanges were in English; the English version of the consent form was signed by her parents since she is a minor.

The legal name of Alyssa is not Spanish, and she pronounced it with English phonology though she pronounced her Spanish family name with Spanish phonology. She acknowledged no other nickname. She has no children. She reported that she uses exclusively English in all situations. I assigned 'A' for this factor despite the Spanish pronunciation of her name.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Alyssa lives with her family in the same neighborhood as her extended family, now very well mixed Mexican American and Anglo though historically Anglo. Though she claimed that her friends and classmates were fairly evenly divided between Hispanic and Anglo, later Alyssa said that many of her Hispanic friends are Mexicans now living in San Antonio. She reportedly is invited often to their family get-togethers. She participates as well in the family celebrations at her grandparents' house. Despite Alyssa's claimed preference for English media due to her reported lack of any Spanish skills, I assigned 'MA' for a slightly stronger Mexican American orientation for this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When given a list of labels from which to choose the one she preferred, Alyssa remarked, "I don't second question that I'm Hispanic but I realize that I don't know Spanish and do what regular Hispanics do...but I not gonna think that I'm not Hispanic just 'cause I don't know that. But I know that I'm not really Mexican because I'm not from Mexico." She rejected both 'Chicana' and 'Latina' as just not 'her'. Because Alyssa has accepted a label given to her on school forms, although she realizes that some might think that the Spanish language is one of several requirements for membership in the group that she doesn't meet, I assigned 'AM' for this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Other than mentioning that her friends were about equal in number, Anglo and Mexican American, and because she didn't mention any preferences for food, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation: "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Alyssa reported hearing a lot of Spanish at work in a neighborhood grocery store, among clients and personnel alike, but reported that she must ask someone else to help with even the most basic conversation in Spanish. She rated her skills in English as 10 and her skills in Spanish as 1. They

speak to her in Spanish, she thought, only because it's the only language they have, "People think I don't look Hispanic." She reported "I don't really mind not knowing it [Spanish] but sometimes I do when I help my customers...and I don't know it. But I'm OK with not knowing it right now."

Despite her claim that many of her Hispanic friends are Mexicans now living in this country, she reported no knowledge of Mexican cultural events other than some of the Mexican American ones described above that are discussed and practiced in her family. She mentioned only Jennifer Lopez as a Mexican American cultural icon who had proven herself both singing and acting, but admitted she really didn't like the way Lopez behaved and wouldn't want to emulate her.

Alyssa's responses revealed very little Mexican American influence in her cultural heritage. Though she claims a mixed group of friends and participation in her Mexican American extended family's celebrations, she is strongly oriented to English in every other dimension: her name, her self-rating in language skills, her preference in media, her lack of Mexican or Mexican American cultural knowledge, even affirming that she doesn't think she looks of Mexican origin. I assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Alyssa reported that she had only dated Hispanic men and so imagined that she would marry one. She

didn't reveal whether she hoped he would speak Spanish. With this little data, I chose to assign 'AM' for this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) The data from my interview with Norma and Rick were discussed in 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 above. They were both assigned 'A(M)' for this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

Alyssa mentioned that her negative experiences last year as a member of the otherwise all-white cheerleading team led her to quit the squad. The most prejudiced girls, she reported, were three seniors who have since graduated, so she believed that the situation for her is better this year. She cited changes in the school district's boundaries as another possible reason that difficulties between the ethnic groups had eased, "a lot of whites left." Alyssa's idea of the future is that everyone of every background will get along better primarily because she believes institutional discrimination is a thing of the past. Because Alyssa showed awareness of group discrimination which affected her personally yet believed that institutional discrimination was no longer an issue, I assigned 'MA' for this factor.

On the basis of this data visually displayed in the chart below, I characterize Alyssa as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Types V. While she professes to have no problem being identified as Hispanic, she doesn't believe she

really acts like "normal" Hispanics. From the abbreviated responses of this interview, it appears she identifies very little with Mexican American culture.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n
	A	MA	AM	MA
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	A(M)	AM	A(M)	MA

Table 4.8. **Alyssa. Subject SA-III-8.** Most closely conforming to **Type V** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, M=Mexican American

4.3 DESCRIPTION OF SAN ANTONIO FAMILY AS CASE

When asked, the family members claimed never having discussed issues of race/ethnicity, language choice or ethnic "labels", though these had become subjects of lively conversation within the family in the days before the interview as a result of preliminary questions I had asked to ensure their eligibility for the study. They also indicated little awareness of any discussion on the issue in their social networks. I found it difficult to believe, however, that there had been no such discussion within the family, and several of the subjects indicated as much, George in particular. In the last five years I have collected a number of articles and editorials which have appeared in San Antonio newspapers both in English and Spanish dealing with bilingual education, issues of language choice, hypotheses about the linguistic situation of Mexican Americans in San Antonio

and the Southwest, English-only legislation, ethnic politics, ethnic and racial issues connected with the 2000 USCensus, etc. So while these issues have certainly been discussed in the community at large, I am unsure as to why they reportedly might also not been topics of conversation in this home.

Overarching themes in the data of the San Antonio family distilled through Strauss and Corbin's Grounded Theory, form the following categories: strong familism dominating mostly Mexican American social networks; some common Mexican American cultural traditions but especially those centered on food; perceived discrimination, especially intra-ethnic; use of physical appearance and geography to cue language choice; education and upward mobility; and issues of race. Specifically, fluency in the Spanish language is <u>not</u> a requirement for ethnic membership for this family (and through pilot projects, personal contacts, data from other studies, not for much of the rest of Mexican American San Antonio). García (1995) attested that San Antonio has a long-standing and stable Spanish-speaking community suggesting a situation of language contraction, a gradual restriction of the domains of Spanish language use rather than rapid shift and death of the minority language. She documented a probable source of the subject family's experiences with intra-ethnic discrimination: expectations of some competence in Spanish in Spanish-surnamed and Hispanic-looking individuals as affirmation of one's Hispanic heritage, as a marker of in-group solidarity with other Hispanics, even if it is only to inject a few phrases in a predominantly English exchange. Some ritualistic use even by Anglos is reportedly expected by most Mexican Americans. García also documented the

very common situation of this subject family: the lower income neighborhoods of the West Side are predominantly Mexican American and maintain Spanish language use at home. Younger speakers tend to be English-dominant, especially second- and third-generation bilinguals (or people who have been there much longer) raised in the more ethnically heterogeneous and affluent Northside neighborhoods. Another major factor contributing to the relatively stable bilingualism is the continuing influx of (initially) monolingual immigrants, mostly from Mexico. So while there is a contraction of contexts of use of Spanish and loss of bilingualism among the younger generations, new immigrants are constantly creating new contexts.

Data collected from the secondary personal questions based on the questionnaires of Woolard and Heller added further details and possible motivations for the data obtained from the adaptation of Keefe and Padilla's questions. I had anticipated that those analyzed as Type I on Keefe and Padilla's scale would be least likely to have detached the language component from their identity and would be most likely to choose Spanish in all situations; those of Type V would be most likely to have detached the heritage language and so accommodate English in most if not all transactions. This seemed to be the case in the subjects from San Antonio (Types II-V) since all but 2 respondents indicated the lack of linguistic skills necessary to exercise a choice of language. The two who claimed to be bilingual, Tony (Type III) and Armonda (the only Type II), are not only the oldest and first generation of this family but are also first-generation Americans whose parents were from Mexico. The second and

third generations of this family were analyzed as Type III, IV, and V, none of whom claimed to be bilingual. Perhaps data from a more balanced bilingual family would be quite different, but those of the two self-acclaimed bilinguals indicated that language choice was based primarily on physical characteristics with allowance of geography a secondary consideration in language choice.

The factor cited as most important to their construction of identity was an appeal to Mexican/Hispanic origin as well as a sense of what one was NOT ("you're not white, you're not black, and you're not Asian, you're Hispanic").

4.3.1 Components of ethnicity

Tony------Armonda
SA-I-1 **III** SA-I-2 **II**

Norma----Richard (Rick) — SA-II-3 **IV** SA-II-4 **IV**
Peter (Pete) — SA-II-5 **V**
George — SA-II-6 **III**

Little Rick — SA-III-7 **III**
Alyssa — SA-III-8 **V**

Figure 4.10. San Antonio informants by type.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

For the report of data along the two axes and eight dimensions as established by Keefe and Padilla, adaptations had to be made in assigning the San Antonio subjects to one of the five types of ethnic orientation. The results proved much more complicated, even with the adaptation of the double binary analysis, than what their model could account for--more than an overlapping continuum of factors and without predictive power. Ultimately, the typology was useful only to

grossly compare across types. The data derived from the subjects' responses differed in many ways that must be examined individually by factor to have a clearer notion of how each subject was constructing their identity in the interview with me. Had the group been more diverse in terms of range, I might have defined the categories differently. In any case, the data collected from this one family on this occasion pointed up the insufficiency of the Keefe and Padilla model: one is not either 'ethnic' **or** 'assimilated', even spread over multiple factors. These subjects were both 'ethnic' **and** 'assimilated' in **different** ways in each of the factors. Identity was constructed for/with me, a sympathetic out-group member, very differently for each individual, and the relationship of that identity to language claiming varied as well.

In addition, Keefe and Padilla's dichotomy was set up as Mexican vs. Anglo, allowing for a good bit of overlap and imprecision. Even my adaptation to Mexican/Mexican American and Anglo/anglophone could not account for the variation in individual responses. Significantly, none of the subject family was analyzed as Type I, clearly unacculturated and identifying as Mexican (or Mexican American) while only one subject in the first generation, Armonda, was analyzed as Type II, identifying primarily with Mexican/Mexican American culture over Anglo. One of each generation, Tony of the first generation, George of the second, Little Rick of the third, were considered Type III, having a moderate amount of Mexican/Mexican American cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty, and yet they too were very different in certain factors. Norma and Rick of the second generation were analyzed as Type IV while Pete of the second

generation and Alyssa of the third were considered Type V, highly Anglicized and identifying little with Mexican/Mexican American culture. Much as Woolard discovered in her subjects in Catalan, my subjects in San Antonio varied in their own assessments of the role the heritage language, Texas Spanish, plays in their self-identification, but there is an appreciable change over time; only the two family members of the first generation claim to be bilingual. As expected both from the literature and my own experiences as a sympathetic outgroup member in the city, different components of ethnic identity seem to undergo varying degrees of shift. There doesn't seem to be whole-sale loss of traditional cultural traits replaced by new ones of the majority culture as the family members integrate to different degrees socially, economically and politically into majority society; for example, knowledge of Mexican history might have diminished but Catholicism remains stable and extended familism is even strengthened. Further, the analysis echoed a sentiment among sociologists that the Mexican American culture has "hybridized", becoming distinctive and possessing many features unique from either Mexican or (historically Anglo-) American cultures--a reflection perhaps of the bicultural/bilingual speech community that is particular to San Antonio, but possibly detectable in other group members from other places.

As examined above in 4.2, only one member of the family, Armonda, of the first generation, was analyzed as Type II. She was the only one to state a preference for Spanish and had the most Mexican American orientation in the factors of Ethnic Pride and Affiliation and Respondent's Cultural Heritage. Despite having finished high school in which there were some Anglos and living

in a mixed neighborhood, Armonda's limited experience outside the home and her family meant less interaction in English and with Anglos than the rest of her family.

Her husband Tony, also of the first generation, was the other claimed bilingual but he claimed to use English and Spanish equally, and he had years of interaction in English and with Anglo-dominant society while in the military and in his job in a federal facility. He also acknowledged some discrimination whereas Armonda did not. While Tony was analyzed as Type III, clearly bicultural and bilingual, the other two family members who were closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III differed in several ways from their father and grandfather. Neither George of the second generation nor Little Rick of the third could claim to be bilingual, but they were the only two family members who were actively studying Spanish, determined to learn it well enough to use it and to teach it to their future children. Both were appreciably more oriented toward anglophone in their Cultural Heritage than Tony, the other Type III, and Little Rick's Ethnic Pride and Affiliation as well as Social Orientation were almost equally balanced Anglo and English-speaking Mexican American whereas both George and Tony were predominantly Mexican American in these factors. The other factor in which the three subjects analyzed as Type III differ is in Perceived Discrimination: Tony was analyzed as 'A(M)' claiming he'd only heard about some incidents, George as 'M' claiming that he thought he had experienced both personal and group discrimination, and Little Rick as 'MA' claiming that he had

experienced personal discrimination but didn't think group discrimination was a problem anymore.

The issue of biculturality is also to be addressed. One would think from Keefe and Padilla's description that the Type III individuals would function perfectly well in either and both cultures. While Tony undoubtedly could, I believe he would always be marked as interfacing with the 'other' culture, setting him apart from full members of each respective culture. The underlying assumption remaining 'you're one or the other, both being a marked identity'. George and Little Rick could (do) not claim to function perfectly well in their 'heritage' culture with the language component. While they are certainly more bicultural than the other members of the family, they report that they are lacking the language facility required of full membership in the heritage culture, as pointed out to them by others both overtly and covertly. None of the three claim to be fully accepted into the 'Anglo' majority culture either, marked as they are by their appearance, family name, and other markers of their 'otherness'. While bicultural may mean here having characteristics of both cultures, it also seems to mean being accepted as a full member of neither.

The oldest two of the second generation, Norma and her husband Rick, were both analyzed as Type IV, much more oriented toward anglophone culture than Mexican American. Not only did they claim English as their only language (though Norma claimed slightly more skill in Spanish), they had not raised their children speaking Spanish. While Norma expressed some regret about this, Rick did not. This factor was the primary difference between Type IV and the Type III

of George and Little Rick. While Rick was rated just as strongly 'M' in Perceived Discrimination as George, claiming both personal and group discrimination, his other responses were more oriented to anglophone culture.

Finally, Pete of the second generation, and Alyssa, the youngest subject, were analyzed as Type V, identifying little as Mexican/Mexican American. While Alyssa claimed the label, she commented that she didn't speak any Spanish whatsoever, that she wasn't like "regular Hispanics" and didn't even look the part. And while she was anglophone dominant in every other factor, she claimed to associate with Mexican Americans. Pete, on the other hand, claimed his Mexican origin in his label and parents' cultural heritage but was anglophone dominant in every other factor. What factor is striking through the whole family, Type II-Type V, is the preference for associating with Mexican Americans, in some cases almost exclusively, except in the case of Pete. His social affiliation outside his family is much more strongly anglophone and/or allophone, he stated, because of the ethnic make-up of his peers in his field of study.

Seen across generations, the range of types generally from Type II-V, oldest to youngest, indicated a rapid drop of linguistic skills in Spanish after the first generation and subsequent anglophone dominance in more factors. This is not at all unexpected. If the one accepts the conclusion reached by Solé (1995) that English competence "covaries in order of importance first with educational attainment, second with occupational status, and, contrary to expectations, last with income level" (p. 120), this highly educated family would place great importance on skills in English and less on Spanish. This upper middle class

family does not claim to be bilingual, as Solé hypothesized the norm, yet all members (even those of Type V) do claim at least some factors of a Mexican identity. Statistics collected by Hudson *et al.* (1995) indicated that the higher the educational level of the Spanish origin population, the lower the loyalty and retention rates of Spanish. "The disproportionate representation of Spanish-claiming communities in the lower socioeonomic strata of American society may to some degree safeguard them against the full effects of linguistic assimilation, but to the extent that they gain more open access to quality education, to political power, and to economic prosperity, they will do so, it seems, at the price of the maintenance of Spanish, even in the home domain" (p. 182). Differing degrees of remorse (or nostalgia) were expressed by the subject family at the lack of linguistic skills of the second and third generations--both for practical reasons and because of the role of Spanish as the heritage language--but subjects also expressed pragmatic acceptance of the necessity of moving to the Northside neighborhood for superior education and upward mobility--much prized in this well-degreed family--and the resulting loss of Spanish.

Both the label 'Hispanic' and its implication of race ("you're not white, you're not black, and you're not Asian, you're Hispanic") seem greatly influenced by Anglo attitudes, documented particularly in Texas by Foley (1997) as discussed in Chapter Three, attitudes inculcated in the education system that figures so prominently in this family. While George was particularly aware of some of the different parameters of the social constructs of race and ethnicity and

discussed as much, he himself often confounded them in his alternance of Anglo/white.

Pete was the only one interviewed who explicitly made the connection of cultural loss when the family moved from the predominantly Mexican American Westside to the more Anglo Northeast, "...there was a little give and take when we made the move...we upped the education but we lost something also. And then when they tried to possibly correct some by talking to us in Spanish, I personally rejected it." He vividly recalled an incident in a mall where a Mexican national asked him for directions in Spanish, Peter likely correctly assuming it was because of his appearance and his living in San Antonio that the national thought he could speak Spanish. When the Peter answered him in English, the Mexican stranger also switched to English, but impressed upon him that he really should be bilingual, that it was expected, and that even coming from the deep interior of Mexico, he knew both languages. Another incident Pete recounted concerned a Mexican national busboy at a restaurant where he was working who would bait him to speak Spanish and then would get angry when he couldn't understand.

> He just assumed from the way I was--the way I appeared--that I should know Spanish...Maybe they feel that I'm sorta losing my culture in a sense...maybe they're right...My ex-wife, in a joking manner, she used to call me 'coconut', you know, white on the inside and brown on the outside...and the other one was 'oreo cookie'...She would get together with some of her friends that would speak Spanish, and they would talk and she would say 'Oh you don't understand, you're a coconut.'

George was the other member of his family that explicitly talked about race/ethnicity and social power, recounting when he learned in either kindergarten or first grade about being a different "color" after

> A little white girl says 'X, I'll play with you. I don't care if you're black.' And I was thinking 'I'm not black' and that was the first time I remember thinking 'I'm not black but I'm not white either. What am I and why was I born this way? Why am I different?...And it's not just me that's different, it's my dad that's different, it's my mom that's different, it's my brothers and my sister, we're all different.'...And it's like, 'Well, we're not the ones in control then, are we?'

Until that time, he observed, he had never really thought of himself as different. He reported having heard a number of racist/ethnic jokes with Mexicans or Mexican Americans as the butt of the joke. He remarked about how "white" the university campuses he had attended had seemed but how he had in place a network of Hispanic friends to socialize with. "But there were still certainly some times when I'd look in a room and I go 'I'm the only person of color here.' I do that at work too, you know, working in corporate America."

4.3.2 Language attitudes

Woolard argued that greater economic power is the basis for the assignment of linguistic prestige. "...it is *who* speaks a language rather than *where* it is spoken that gives it its force. Authority is established and inculcated most thoroughly not in schools and other formal institutions, but in personal relations, face-to-face encounters, and the invidious distinctions of the workplace and residential neighborhoods" (p. 121, italics hers). She argued that the greater prestige co-varies with political nationalism, and does not depend on it. Both prestige and nationalism depend on the economic strength of the group. In San

Antonio, despite a small Spanish-speaking elite, English has the greater economic power and thus overt prestige. Spanish has been used historically (after Anglo possession) by the poorest and least powerful. Although San Antonio, with a relatively large number of bilingual Anglos and Mexican Americans, has continued to cater to prosperous tourists from Mexico who come regularly and in great numbers for vacations and shopping, claiming Spanish as a necessary part of their identity would be much more likely to maintain Mexican Americans' identification with the much more common lower-class worker. Woolard's argument seems to be supported by the data drawn from this family in their very deliberate move literally and figuratively from the Westside to the more prosperous, better educated (and more Anglo) Northside.

Solidarity operates according to a different logic, according to Woolard. In her model, subjects negatively sanction linguistic cooptation by members of their own linguistic group though they may be relatively indifferent to the language of the other group. Ingroup members are rewarded for loyalty to the group language and penalized for betraying it. Outgroup members are not rewarded for trying to use the other language when it can be detected that they are outsiders, despite preference for hearing one's own language. Further, idiosyncratic personality traits in individual speakers are not attributed solely along linguistic group lines. However, ingroup members can enhance or reduce solidarity by manipulation of language choice although outgroup members cannot. Because of the racialized component of identity in San Antonio, ingroup and outgroup members are more likely to be defined by common physical

markers of ethnic origin; hence the not uncommon occurrence of expectations that any dark complected person will speak Spanish, even if they happen to be of Italian or Middle Eastern origin. (Here in the Southwest, these expectations are not the same for people with African physical traits which often results in surprise when encountering Spanish-speakers with those physical characteristics.) Herein too lies the basis of the intra-ethnic discrimination recounted by members of this family.

Woolard examined the effect of these language attitudes of prestige and solidarity on language behavior in Barcelona and considered their implications for ethnolinguistic problems encountered in other settings. Using her analyses for the data from this study, it is apparent that for this family, English language as a marker of status outweighs Spanish language as a marker of solidarity with other Mexican Americans. English is also a marker of solidarity with the larger American society. The ethnic variety of Texas Spanish is not required for maintenance of group boundaries but at least nominal use of it is certainly expected by group members. Woolard would explain the codeswitching attested in the community by the fact that there might be additional prestigious connotations to motivate a switch to English for rhetorical effect or to imply affiliation with the outgroup from which prestige is derived while reinforcing solidarity with ingroup membership. It might also simply be a function of incomplete bilingualism. Why would Anglophones and immigrants not learn Spanish in greater numbers? It is a language by and large associated with inferior social and economic status, and Woolard would posit that it is because there is

little or no increased social acceptance from Mexican Americans for outgroup members who learn the language. Anglos have no claim to the identity, though my experience is that Spanish-speaking outgroup members are more welcome than anglophone outgroup members who do not speak Spanish as long as there are no claims to membership.

To analyze the data of the San Antonio subjects in terms of Woolard's study, the status and prestige accorded by this family to English has outbalanced the benefits of solidarity, though not without feelings of remorse and on the part of some of the subjects, a consciousness of "betrayal" of the ethnic group. According to Woolard, a strong ethnic consciousness is critical in valuing a variety; the fact that these subjects, particularly of the second and third generations, are typed III, IV and V on Keefe and Padilla's assimilation model demonstrates a weakened Mexican/Mexican American consciousness. If, according to Woolard, the prestige of a language or variety is dependent on its economic strength, certainly English has been historically stronger; will that remain the case with the dramatic increase in sheer number of Mexican Americans and their increasing political and socio-economic strength? If solidarity is manifested in the language, these subjects are not seeking solidarity with others of Mexican origin and can't seek solidarity with many anglophones who reinforce distinction of the ethnic groups based on external markers of ethnic background. The family is disidentifying with certain traditions of Mexican American culture--limited educational opportunities and blue collar employment,

for example--while reinforcing other traditions such as strong familism, food and Catholicism.

Woolard outlined the theoretical problems concerning linguistic prestige or status and solidarity, terms she had wanted to qualify and redefine. She drew the distinction between two different derivations of prestige, from the economic status of its speakers and its functional distribution across domains of use, especially in education and mass media. The greater economic power of English, in this case, is the basis for the assignment of linguistic prestige. Spanish is strongly associated with the working class or the working poor, particularly the unskilled. Solidarity operates according to a different logic, according to Woolard. Subjects negatively sanction linguistic cooptation by members of their own linguistic group though they be relatively indifferent to the language of the other group. Ingroup members are rewarded for loyalty to the group language and penalized for betraying it. There would be alternating solidarity and prestigious connotations to motivate codeswitching for effect among those with some linguistic abilities in both languages.

As for overt language attitudes, Tony and Armonda displayed only positive feelings about their own linguistic abilities and about the kind of Spanish that they speak, particularly Tony, though he admitted that sometimes he had to look up words he encountered that he was sure were from the interior of Mexico or other words possibly technical or in an unfamiliar domain. They claimed they didn't remember any negative comments from teachers or any others about the language variety or codeswitching either. This is perhaps by virtue of the very

stable longtime bilingual speech community documented as existing in San Antonio. While they display a very positive attitude themselves, they did not use Spanish with their children nor encourage its use by them, in part so they could "fit in" and get a good education. The family had in fact moved out of a Mexican American neighborhood and given up the language, though with some regret.

In the second generation, Norma had predominantly positive remarks about the languages she speaks. However, she initially denied Spanish as her first language; she expressed chagrin at her limited skills in Spanish and remorse at the loss of her heritage language. Whether her ambivalence is seated in her judgment of the language variety or her own limited linguistic abilities is difficult to assess. On the other hand, Rick did not have a wholly positive characterization of 'Tex-Mex', and Peter outright rejected Spanish. George explicitly acknowledged not feeling fully Mexican American since he's not fully bilingual. Though he, like his brothers and sister, didn't grow up speaking Spanish, he had made an effort to learn "good/proper" Spanish formally and hoped to raise his future child(ren) bilingually "to not lose sight of who they are and where they came from." While he displayed ambivalence about the variety itself in his comments, he affirmed being bilingual as being practical and Spanish as his heritage language. One might imagine that working in the "diversity" section and having a Ph.D. in education have sensitized him to language and identity issues more than the rest of his family. He recounted a story of accompanying a date who was from New Orleans who was "appalled" at hearing on the loudspeaker at a well-known mall on the Northside of San Antonio an announcement in Spanish that was not also

translated into English. He had countered that where she was from, Cajun French was often spoken publicly without English translation, from which I inferred that the young woman's attitude toward Spanish-speakers in San Antonio was far more negative than her attitude toward French-speakers in Louisiana. He attributed it to her youth and her "outsider's perspective" on the San Antonio speech norms.

In the third generation, Little Rick did anticipate continuing the traditions so strong in his family and had chosen to study Spanish not only for practicality's sake, but also because it is his heritage language. He also reported that he would like to marry a Hispanic woman who would "teach" Spanish to their children. While Alyssa also predicted she would marry a Hispanic, she didn't express much remorse at all that she didn't speak Spanish.

This family's right to membership in the Mexican American ethnic group is not called into question except on the basis of their detachment of Spanish from that identity; the question really is whether they want to claim all the factors attributed to that group by themselves and others. With Mexican Americans traditionally lower in the social hierarchy than Anglos, lower socio-economic status due to less education and less access to positions of power, the family is following the more prestigious norm of English.

4.3.3 Politicization of language choice

> ...the study of language choice [and codeswitching] can shed light on the ways in which groups struggle over resources, and on the ways in which individual members of a community contribute to that struggle by creatively and strategically exploiting their linguistic resources in key interactions (Heller 1992:139).

Before beginning the study, I had hypothesized, based on personal observation, that many bilinguals for whom language choice and codeswitching were options will often accommodate their probable audience, choosing the unmarked language for a particular transaction. I expected to find, however, that the Québécois subjects were more likely to exploit language choice as a political strategy than the Spanish-speaking subjects. The current political climate in the respective cities ensures a large bilingual audience, lessening the probability that the subject must choose one language or the other in order to be understood by the interlocutor; however, I found it doubtful that the Mexican Americans in my study would use Spanish as the dispreferred language for three reasons. First, I supposed fewer would be well-balanced in their bilingualism because both the lack of opportunities for education in Spanish and the stigmatization of the variety from speakers and non-speakers alike have set up this ambivalence about the value of the language variety as a marker of ethnic identity. Second, I doubted that the Mexican Americans would choose to politicize language choice since they seem to have greater socio-cultural pressure to accommodate an English-speaking interlocutor than the French-speakers in Montréal seem to have. Third, I doubted that the the forced choice of Spanish in all environments would have a very meaningful effect in San Antonio as far as reinforcing an identity separate from the many Mexican national tourists who visit the city or from those Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans who traditionally have occupied the lowest socio-economic levels; most monolingual Spanish-speakers are accommodated by bilingual Anglos and Mexican Americans alike in most areas of the city anyway.

I anticipated that the data of the San Antonio subjects would follow two specific lines according to personal experiences and observations Heller made about constraints (1988, 1992). Those members with limited bilingual abilities would probably be forced to choose English as the language of interaction and to abandon the transaction when the linguistic transaction was too complicated for their limited Spanish skills, whether or not they be willing to accommodate the other speaker. Those who were more balanced bilinguals--whose skills in both languages are adequate--would probably base their choice of language on the environment, on the unmarked choice. Whether this choice follows Heller's categorization of refusing to commit to one sole frame of reference, absence of in-group/out-group distinction, or self-assurance in one's own identity would have to be determined from additional comments during a follow-up. However, at least one (and possibly several) of the second or third generations studied might demonstrate a strong link of language to identity by insisting on Spanish in all transactions regardless of environment. Further, I hypothesized that the subjects analyzed as Type I would be the least likely to have detached language from identity and those analyzed as Type V would almost certainly have detached as many markers of identity as possible in the assimilation/acculturation process.

In this particular family, only Tony and Armonda, the first generation, Type III and II respectively, claim to have the linguistic skills in both languages necessary to politicize language choice. However, they indicated that they accommodate the interlocutor's language choice in every situation and would not break off a conversation or negotiation simply because of language, even if it is

the dispreferred language in that neighborhood. None of the second or third generation reports they are linguistically capable of forcing a choice of language in any given situation, nor did they believe, they said, that they could respond in Spanish to such a forced choice. In some ways, the monolinguals (Anglo and Mexican American) politicize language choice by refusing to learn the other language. In fact, all the subjects expressed some degree of regret, in most cases, or defiance, in the case of Rick, Type IV, about the reported lack of these skills which also made them the target of much reported intra-ethnic recrimination. However, none feels less entitled to claim the label 'Hispanic' because of the perceived lack of Spanish. Alyssa, Type V, stated "I don't second question that I'm Hispanic but I realize that I don't know Spanish and do what regular Hispanics do...but I'm not gonna think that I'm not Hipanic just 'cause I don't know that."

Tony and Armonda's youngest son George, Type III, expressed explicitly his desire to be able to use language choice as a strategy: "I feel strong enough as a person that I could speak whatever language I want to pretty much in any situation without feeling intimidated about it, but it's just my limitations of not knowing how." George was the only subject to explicitly acknowledge the link between language and ethnic identity, though almost all the others cited Spanish as the heritage language and reported intra-ethnic discrimination. He was also the only subject who reported ethnic issues as a political agenda and shared insight into exploiting language choice specifically for political and economic leverage.

4.4 SUMMARY

In Chapter Four, the data from the personal interviews of the subjects in San Antonio have been presented. Section 4.1 was the introduction to the chapter including the relevant points of Keefe and Padilla's model used both to generate the data and describe the individual subjects, the relevant points of Woolard's examination of language attitude and finally Heller's assessment of the likelihood of those capable, the functionally bilingual subjects, to exploit language choice for political and economic leverage. Section 4.2 reported the data of each subject in San Antonio. Section 4.3 was a description of the San Antonio family as a whole, contrasting the individual subjects, the generations, the implications for that family's construction of their ethnicity situated in their speech community. In Chapter Five the data from Montréal are presented.

Chapter 5: Results/Analysis of Montréal data

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the data from the subjects in Montréal. Section 5.2 is the description of the individual subjects from Montréal, reported and typed according to the Keefe and Padilla model. As in section 4.2, the data are quoted as given. Section 5.3 is the description of the Montréal family as a whole, contrasting the type, language attitudes and language choice of the individual subjects, the generations, and the implications for that family's construction of their ethnic identity situated in their speech community. In section 5.4 the chapter is summarized.

The interview data from the Montréal family were analyzed using the techniques of the Grounded Theory of Strauss and Corbin (1998) as described in Chapter Three; they are first interpreted according to the neo-pluralistic model of acculturation and assimilation proposed by Keefe and Padilla (1987), otherwise known as the multi-dimensional model, also discussed in Chapter Two. The data are presented in section 5.2 situated on the two axes established by Keefe and Padilla: Ethnic Loyalty (including language preference, ethnic pride and affiliation, cultural identification, and ethnic social orientation) and Cultural Awareness (including factors relating to the respondent's cultural heritage, the spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride, the parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride, and perceived discrimination). Based on these data collected, subjects are then assigned as best possible to one of five types of ethnic

orientation similar to those established by Keefe and Padilla: for these particular data, respondents of Type I would be clearly unacculturated and identify as Québécois while those of Type V would be highly Anglicized and identify little with Québécois culture. Type III respondents would have a moderate amount of Québécois cultural awareness and loyalty and some knowledge of Anglo Canadian culture; while they might be considered "bicultural," it is significant that they retain their Québécois identity and are conscious of their francophone heritage. Types II and IV are situated between the above correlates. Though Keefe and Padilla's data were quantitative and the resulting model was empirically based on Chicano ethnicity in California, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, it should, to the extent that it is robust, help account for similar data collected on any ethnic group. See Appendix 1 for a list of sample questions used in the oral interviews.

Attitude toward the Québécois variety of French is then interpreted according to the analysis used by Woolard (1989) in her examination of the politics of language and ethnicity. The linguistic and ethnic situation she analyzed is more comparable to Montréal than to San Antonio, as examined in Chapter Four, and her questions were incorporated into the interviews about language and identity. Though her quasi-experimental measure of language attitudes was based on Lambert's original work in Montréal, her (and my) questions and analyses follow those in the study of Ryan and Carranza, using the two axes of status and solidarity (Osgood's Potency and Evaluation, respectively). If, as she claimed, language choice is critical in the definition and maintenance of

group boundaries (in this case, Québécois identity), respondents should score higher on solidarity factors of their own language variety, regardless of the relative prestige of all varieties. Data of this type are discussed in sections 5.3 for the Montréal subjects.

Finally, the reported likelihood of the bilingual subject to exploit his/her choice of language in a particular environment is examined. Heller (1992) asserted that the use of French as a political and economic strategy had advanced the power of French in Canada. I had anticipated that the subjects analyzed as Type I on the Keefe and Padilla scale would have the most positive attitude toward the particular variety of French spoken in Canada, would be least likely to have detached the language component from their identity and would be most likely to choose French in all unmarked environments, with the possibility of making a political statement by choosing it as the dispreferred language in anglophone environments. Those of Type V would be most likely to demonstrate negative attitude toward the French variety, to have already detached or be willing to detach the language and so would accommodate to and use English in most if not all transactions. Data of this type are also discussed in sections 5.3 for the Montréal subjects.

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF MONTRÉAL SUBJECTS

For a brief description of the subjects in Montréal, see Appendix 7. As is the case in reporting the data from the family in San Antonio, the identification of the subjects by pseudonym provides anonymity while the subject number specifically indicates generation (M=Montréal; I,II,III=generation; 1,2,3

etc.=subject number.) The members studied include the matriarch of the family, Lucille (M-I-1); her sister, Pierrette (M-I-2), and the sister's husband, Claude (M-I-3); the second generation is composed of three of Lucille's six sons, René (M-II-4), Guy (M-II-5), Denis (M-II-6); her one daughter, Manon (M-II-7), twin of Denis; and her nephew, Marc (M-II-8); and the third generation includes two of her grandsons, Alain (M-III-9) and Yannick (M-III-10), the sons of her eldest son, René.

Lucille M-I-1 — *Pierrette*------*Claude* M-I-2 M-I-3

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — *Denis* M-II-6 — *Manon* M-II-7 — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain M-III-9 — *Yannick* M-III-10

Figure 5.1. Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Almost all members are reportedly bilingual French-English to varying degrees though the native language claimed in all cases is French. A brief mention about the names of this family: the two family names are both recognizably French but the surnames or given names of many of the subjects are not only French but very typically Québécois in that they are names dating from earlier centuries that are no longer used in France yet are very common in Québec. The households of the two sisters, that of Lucille and her husband (long ago divorced and not interviewed for this study) and that of Pierrette and Claude, were very close at one time but have been less so in the last fifteen years since the

second generation has grown up and married, establishing their own households. Marriages in the family, that of Manon in the summer of 2000 and the following summer that of Alain, are the main occasions for which the whole family reunites. All but three of the Montréal subjects have always resided in Montréal or its suburbs: René and his son Alain are both in Texas, having married American women, and Manon, married to an English Canadian, was in the Toronto area for about three-and-a-half years. All were interviewed by speakerphone over the course of several weekend phone conversations. I have known this family for about fifteen years, having been married for almost six years to one of the second generation studied. Contact over the years with most of the family has been by telephone and letters with visits (both in Montréal and in Texas) usually of several days' duration three-to-four times a year. Though all subjects interviewed know me to be American and English-dominant, all interchanges were in French with two exceptions: the interview with my ex-husband René mixed both French and English with English predominant, very much the typical pattern of our communications now; the other exception was Guy, who responded almost exclusively in English in formal and informal exchanges alike to my queries in French, again the typical pattern of communication with him. All signed letters of consent were the French version though both the English and French versions were offered. Conversations averaged just less than forty-five minutes in duration; they were recorded, and memos and diagrams were made from the audiotapes and notes in accordance with the guidelines set out in Strauss and Corbin's Grounded Theory. Details by subject are given below in 5.2, divided

according to the components of Keefe and Padilla's model. Data are presented by 'factor' with paragraphs corresponding to the 'dimensions' of Keefe and Padilla's questionnaire, as discussed more thoroughly below, though the data were collected with open-ended questions which usually occurred in varying sequential order. Rather than using the binary rating of the data (a higher score indicating a greater degree of acculturation/assimilation and vice versa), I chose instead to note each subject's orientation as more or less Québécois **and** more or less Anglo/anglophone to get at nuances in the construction of identity; even that proved insufficient for all but gross generalizations. There was additional slippage in the model when accounting for Anglo meaning 'of British origin' (not 'white' as in Chapter Four), anglophone, English language, and Québécois as opposed to French Canadian, of French origin, French language (Standard French or just not English). My analyses of the data are visually summarized in a chart, underlining the difficulty of assigning the subjects to a 'type' corresponding to those proposed by Keefe and Padilla. Following in section 5.3 is a description of the family as a case study, discussing in more detail the inadequacies of the 'types' and also using the other two analyses of attitude and politicization, from Woolard and Heller, respectively. Characterizations of the two families are compared in Chapter Six.

I have used the terms 'Anglo' (meaning, generally, of British origin, English-speaking) and 'Québécois' (meaning, generally, French Canadian from the province of Québec, speaking Canadian French) unless using the subjects' characterizations of ethnicity expressly stated.

5.2.1 *Lucille*. M-I-1

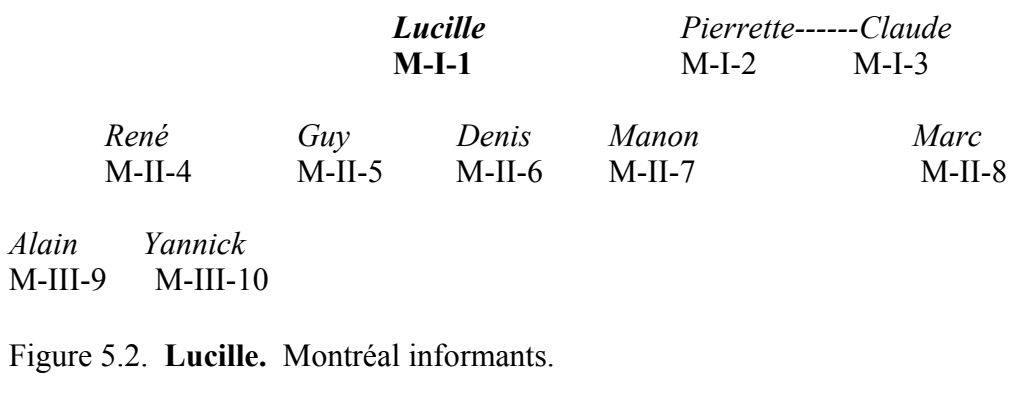

Figure 5.2. **Lucille.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Lucille is the mother of René, Guy, Manon, Denis (and three other sons who did not participate in this particular study), the grandmother of Alain and Yannick (and six other grandchildren who did not participate in this study), the sister of Pierrette, the sister-in-law of Claude, the aunt of Marc, and my former mother-in-law. She was 70 years old at the time of the interview. She claimed French as her first and still dominant language though she considered herself bilingual, "*assez pour me débrouiller*" (enough to get by), having worked for years in retail sales serving both francophone and anglophone clients. She reported little formal instruction in English, although deeming it "*nécessaire*" to learn to speak, and completed high school and some business courses in French. She claimed affiliation with the Parti Québécois, the political party traditionally associated with *'La Révolution Tranquille'*, the revalorization beginning in the 1960's of the French language and francophone culture in Québec, centering in

Montréal. My interpretation of the data reported by Lucille is found visually displayed in Table 5.1.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification

This axis, as described by Keefe and Padilla, is "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another" (p. 46), and includes the dimensions of language preference, ethnic pride and affiliation, cultural identification, and ethnic social orientation. These factors, in interaction with those of the second axis, Cultural Awareness, were used in their study to assign their subjects to types, either more Chicano or more Anglo. While this yielded a rather binary assignment, even in their continuum, Keefe and Padilla allowed that it should be possible to identify acculturation as a separate process from loss of (and possible subsequent re-vitalization of) ethnic identity. The data for my study are presented arranged in 'factors' ordered similarly to those of Keefe and Padilla, but these data did not fit into Keefe and Padilla's continuum, as is obvious especially in the tables that follow each subject and as discussed further in the analysis of the family in 5.3.

Language preference: (Following the intent of Keefe and Padilla's model, subjects scoring high in Factor I, Language preference, would prefer to use French in personal situations as well as with other people, would prefer a French first name, would be more likely to have children with French first names who also speak French; low scores in Factor I would describe a subject who prefers English in all situations, who prefers an English first name, and who has few children with a French first name and/or who speak French.)

My interview with Lucille was conducted entirely in French, and, as noted, she chose to sign the French version of the consent letter. (She and I have always spoken together only in French, a fact that accounts for why I cannot personally attest to the level of bilingualism she claims.) The legal surname of Lucille is indeed French, though there is an equivalent English phonology; she stated her name with French phonology. She claimed to prefer to speak primarily French, English only when traveling outside of Quebec, and never to codeswitch. However, she also claimed that when the occasion arises, she can and does communicate in English with the anglophone in-laws of some of her children. Her children all have distinctly French names, as mentioned above, most quite particular to Québec. She pointed out that although French was the first and remains the preferred language of all her children, all know English well enough to manage even when they travel in the United States. In addition, Lucille reported that she prefers francophone stores, television, radio and newspapers.

In analyzing these first data I realized, as was the case in analyzing the data from San Antonio, that the binary assignment of 'ethnic identity' as described by Keefe and Padilla, even spread to a five-point continuum, cannot account for how Lucille claimed her language preference, the first factor under consideration. She stated clearly that French is her preferred language and the preferred language of her French surnamed children, but she also clearly acknowledged the role English has played in her life, in her work and in her extended family relationships.

KC: *Première langue*? (first language?)

Lucille: *La première langue pour moi c'était le français*. (the first language for me was French.)

KC: *OK--et la langue de préférence*? (and your preferred language?)

Lucille: *Le français*. (French)

KC: *Et à la maison et au travail*? (and at home and at work?)

Lucille: *Au travail il fallait être bilingue. C'est à dire que je me débrouillais en anglais mais il fallait être bilingue*. (at work you had to be bilingual. That's to say I got by in English but you had to be bilingual.)

KC: *Et tu te considères toujours bilingue*? (and you still consider yourself bilingual?)

Lucille: *Oui, je me débrouille assez pour me faire compter comme une bilingue. Je me trompe dans les verbes mais je me débrouille très bien*. (Yes, I get by well enough to be considered bilingual. I get mixed up in the verbs but I get by pretty well.)

For this reason, on Table 5.1 she is assigned Q, as predominantly Québécois(e), but also (A), as accommodating to English/anglophone culture to a marked degree.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (Following the intent of Keefe and Padilla's model, subjects scoring high in Factor II, Ethnic pride and affiliation, were described as having high regard for francophone/Québécois culture, preferring to

associate with Québécois; those with low scores for Factor II have low regard for francophone/Québécois culture and no preference to associate with francophones/Québécois.)

While Lucille professed a preference for francophone media, stores, etc., she chose to live not in francophone neighborhoods but rather in historically Italian neighborhoods. The choice of an allophone environment (neither anglophone nor Spanish-speaking) was not an option in Keefe and Padilla's original study, a point discussed in Chapter Three. Montréal's Italian neighborhoods tend to be Catholic, family-oriented, and blue-collar, not unlike traditional francophone neighborhoods for the most part, and quite different from anglophone neighborhoods, which tend to be middle- to upper-class and Protestant. The reason for her choice has never been discussed and was not raised in this interview.

When asked if Québécois had fewer problems if married to other Québécois rather than anglophones, another adaptation of a Keefe and Padilla question, Lucille reported no qualms about her children's marriages to non-Québécois (one Dutch, one Greek, and three American daughters-in-law and an English Canadian son-in-law.)

Again, Lucille's responses don't fit neatly into the very binary opposition set up in Keefe and Padilla's model. And again, I chose in Table 5.1 to assign her as Q in the factor, but also (A) as accommodating to anglophone culture to some degree, given her choice of an allophone neighborhood and her declared acceptance of non-Québécois in-laws, to which I personally can attest. It is

extraordinary to note, though, that this accommodation is not just of anglophone cultures (both British and American), though English is the language used to mediate the cultural differences, but **allophone** cultures, Dutch, Greek, Italian, as well.

Cultural identification: (Subjects with high scores in Factor III, Cultural identification, would identify as Québécois, preferring France to England, and preferring to travel in France; low scores indicated a subject who self-identifies as anglophone, who prefers the British Isles to France and who prefers to travel in the British Isles.)

KC: *Est-ce que tu choisirais de préférence Québécoise*...(Would you prefer Québécoise...)

Lucille: *Oui* (yes)

KC *ou Canadienne française*? (or French Canadian?)

Lucille: *non. Québécoise. Tu vois ici maintenant les Québécois, on essaie de se retirer du Canada, c'est difficile mais on essaie.* (no. Québécoise. See the Québécois are trying to secede from Canada, it's difficult but we're trying.)

KC: *Alors tu crois que le mouvement est toujours vivant*? (so you think the movement is still alive?)

Lucille: *Plus que jamais*. (more than ever.)

When pressed for clarification, Lucille explained that any resident of the province of Québec, francophone or not, can be considered Québécois now. Later, however, she reported that to be Québécois, one had to not only speak

Québécois French, but also know the history and culture of the people as well as demonstrate a sense of nationalism about the culture. In previous conversations (not recorded) she had always made a distinction between '*Canadiens français*' as francophone Canadians in areas outside of Québec, '*immigrants*' as not born in Canada whether francophone, anglophone or allophone, and '*Québécois anglais*' anglophones from Québec.

As clarified, especially in Chapter Three, the dichotomy for the Montréal subjects will not be between 'French' and 'English' because the centuries of separation from Europe have forged new identities, anglophone and francophone Canadians, which in turn have been politicized in the province of Québec, particularly in the arena of interface, Montréal. The largest anglophone influence on the daily life of all Canadians, francophone as well as anglophone, is the United States. While all subjects have traveled to some degree in the US, only the two currently residing there have expressed any interest in doing so, and both of them have kept their Canadian citizenship. And, as discussed in Chapter Four and above, there is considerable 'slippage' in the dichotomous model. However, three points in Lucille's data indicated to me a Q for Table 5.1 in this factor of cultural identification: her choice of *'Québécoise'* over *'Canadienne française*,' her later insistence that knowledge of the traditional language and culture was a necessary requirement, and the subsequent requirement of the demonstration of a sense of *"nationalism*".

Ethnic social orientation: (A high score in Factor IV for Keefe and Padilla characterized a subject's preferences to associate with Québécois and to

eat Québécois food; a low score would characterize a subject's preference to associate with non- Québécois and to disprefer Québécois food.)

Lucille was scored very 'Québécoise' in response to all questions of this section as well. All of Lucille's past and current social connections were reported to be absolutely francophone/Québécois though some former business associations were anglophone and/or French-English bilingual. She considered the family Catholic (they all had baptismal names, '*noms de baptême*') but non-practicing, again not fitting exactly into Keefe and Padilla's model, but definitely not Protestant. As for food, traditional *cuisine québécoise* is still a favorite (along with Chinese take-out); however, her sister is the family's celebrated cook, Lucille having retired from the kitchen after feeding a family of seven children for so many years.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation

This axis, as described by Keefe and Padilla, "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits (for example, language, history, culture heroes) of the traditional and host cultures" (p. 46), and includes the dimensions of cultural heritage and 'ethnic pride' of the respondent, his/her spouse, his/her parents, and perceived discrimination. These factors, in interaction with those of the first axis, Ethnic Loyalty, were used in their study to assign their subjects to types, either more Chicano or more Anglo. Again, the data for my study are presented arranged in 'factors' ordered similarly to those of Keefe and Padilla, but these data did not fit into Keefe and Padilla's continuum of more

Québécois/francophone or more anglophone, as discussed in the analysis of the family in 5.3.

Respondent's cultural heritage: (A high score in Factor I was assigned following Keefe and Padilla's model to subjects who knew French but no English and who used French media, who had a French first name, who had francophone peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who went to school in French, who knew French and Québécois cultural symbols and events, who went to France and French-speaking areas often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little French, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had anglophone peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in anglophone areas or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the English language, who did not know French or Québécois cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to France or francophone areas.)

Lucille claimed to have been born and raised in francophone neighborhoods in Montréal. She said she had completed high school and some business courses, all in French, and reported little formal instruction in English. She reported that all her classmates and friends were monolingual francophone from childhood through the present time (though she admitted monolingual and bilingual [French-English] co-workers).

Quite surprisingly, she rated her own abilities in her native French at 7 on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent) and "*bien moins*" (much less) in English since she reported having only one year of formal study of English in school.

Besides Christmas, Easter, family birthdays and anniversaries, the main holiday reportedly celebrated by Lucille and her family (indeed all of Québec, francophone or not, it being a provincial holiday) is *La fête de Saint-Jean Baptiste* (St. John the Baptist), the patron saint of Québec, June 24. The main cultural icons she mentioned were Canadian politicians who had furthered the Québécois cause: René Lévesque, who had founded le Parti Québécois; former prime minister Jean Chrétien; as well as just retired and current prime ministers Lucien Bouchard and Bernard Landry. She also mentioned Québécois singers popular as well outside Québec such as Robert Charlebois and Céline Dion. She noted a big increase in the cultural interchange between Québec and France in the last ten years: more tourists from France in the whole province and more Québécois entertainers and artists welcomed to France. However, neither Lucille nor any other member of the family interviewed claimed knowledge of specifically continental French holidays or traditions. Nevertheless, Lucille alluded to a change in attitude on the part of the French toward Québec: she felt there was less disdain and more interest in exploring common roots.

Again I encountered difficulties in assigning a letter to this factor. Lucille's responses were overwhelming 'Q' rather than 'A' except in the most telling point--language. Despite having claimed French as her first and preferred language, she rated her skills at only 7 out of 10. I return to discuss this important topic in 5.3.2. Because of her claimed bilingualism and her reported willingness to accommodate anglophones, I assigned Lucille 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (A high score in Factor II was assigned to those subjects whose spouse knew French but no English and who used French media, who had a French first name, who had francophone peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who went to school in the French language, who knew Québécois/francophone cultural symbols and events, who went to francophone regions often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little French, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had anglophone peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in an English-speaking region or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the English language, who did not know Québécois/francophone cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to francophone areas.)

Lucille's spouse was not interviewed for this study, and she has never discussed him at length in my presence. Knowledge of him, however, is retrieved from remarks made to me and around me over an extended period of time by all members of the family and also by my personal observation during two brief visits (lasting 1-2 days each) with him, one in Québec and one in Texas, several years ago. Her spouse is francophone, having spent all his life in francophone environments in and around Montréal; his linguistic skills in English appear quite limited; his name is distinctly French, though not markedly Québécois. Based on this information, I assigned Lucille a 'Q' in this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (A high score in Factor III was assigned to those subjects whose parents knew French but no English and who used French media, who had a French first name, who had francophone peers

in childhood and/or adolescence, who went to school in the French language, who knew Québécois/francophone cultural symbols and events, who went to francophone regions often; conversely, a low score was assigned to those who knew English but little French, who used English media, who had an English first name, who had anglophone peers in childhood and/or adolescence, who was born in an English-speaking region or immigrated very early in life, who went to school in the English language, who did not know Québécois/francophone cultural symbols or events, and who rarely/never went to francophone areas.)

Lucille's father, she reported, was "*parfaitement bilingue*" (perfectly bilingual), however that might be construed, and her mother monolingual francophone. This information has been corroborated by other members of the family over time. I never met the couple, who were deceased years before I met the family.

Based on this information and other reports from family members and friends of Lucille and Pierrette's early life with their parents, I assigned Lucille a 'Q' in this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (High scores in Factor IV indicated to Keefe and Padilla the respondent perceived group and personal discrimination; low scores indicated the perception of little/no group or personal discrimination.)

As far as real discrimination because of her ethnic background or language choice, Lucille didn't believe it could be a problem any longer with Canadian federal and provincial legislation in place. In her youth, she reported, there were few francophone doctors, lawyers, company directors--though all had the

possibility of an education in French, aspirations were generally low. "*Les Anglais nous pensaient les 'pas bons', les porteurs d'eau*" (The English thought we were good-for-nothings, water carriers.) She noted that now there is a new francophone upper class and as a result, the Québécois community is taking a new place in socio-economic circles and has even become more accepted internationally as full players.

In the factor of perceived discrimination, my questions followed Keefe and Padilla's distinction between institutional and personal discrimination. In their analysis, perceptions of discrimination, particularly personal, tended to be associated with high identification with the minority ethnic group as opposed to the majority group. In addition, Keefe and Padilla hypothesized that the absence of both overt and institutional discrimination might hasten both the acculturation and assimilation processes. This hypothesis does not appear to hold in Montréal. Lucille did not report perceiving either group or personal discrimination now, though she acknowledged institutional discrimination as a very real factor before the 1960's; however, she does not appear to have assimilated or acculturated to any great extent other than accommodating English and anglophones/allophones--even as in-laws. To reflect the acknowledgement of past discrimination while denying it currently, Lucille was assigned both 'Q' and 'A' in Table 5.1.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview, I characterize Lucille as clearly Québécoise in her identity; however, in placing her on a scale after Keefe and Padilla's model, it is difficult to define her as being "Type I--completely unacculturated." As discussed above, not only did she accommodate to English

in her language preference and ethnic pride and affiliation, she rated her skills in her preferred language relatively low and she also did not report discrimination at the current time. As a consequence, she conforms more closely to Type II.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	Q(A)	Q(A)	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q(A)	Q	Q	QA

Table 5.1. **Lucille. Subject M-I-1.** Most closely conforms to **Type II**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.2 *Pierrette*. M-I-2

Lucille M-I-1 — ***Pierrette*** **M-I-2** ------ *Claude* M-I-3

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — *Denis* M-II-6 — *Manon* M-II-7 — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain M-III-9 — *Yannick* M-III-10

Figure 5.3. **Pierrette.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Pierrette is the sister of Lucille, the wife of Claude, the mother of Marc, the aunt of René, Guy, Manon and Denis, the great-aunt of Alain and Yannick--she is known in the family as *Ma tante Pierrette* (Aunt Pierrette.) She was 73

years old at the time of the interview by speakerphone. She claimed French as her only language, reporting no formal training in English. She reported having completed high school and declined to claim any particular political affiliation. My interpretation of the data reported by Pierrette is found visually displayed in Table 5.2.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Pierrette claimed to prefer to speak French though she did report that she would try to speak some English words with anglophones outside the province, in the United States on vacation for example, but reportedly left all but the most basic communication in English when traveling to her slightly more bilingual husband and appreciably more bilingual son. Her choice of code then is constrained by her lack of linguistic skill in English, a fact I have had occasion to note personally over our years of acquaintance. She has remarked on more than one occasion upon the utility of English for traveling and for getting a good job. She herself didn't work in the private sector much at all, though for a great number of years she cared for a few neighborhood infants and young children (almost all monolingual francophone) in her own home. Her legal surname is indeed French, and particularly Québécois. Her son's name is French though not distinctly Québécois. In addition, she reported a preference for francophone stores, television, radio and newspapers.

Because of her strong monolingual francophone orientation, despite her acknowledgement of the utility of English in the limited situations mentioned, I assigned Pierrette a 'Q' in language preference on Table 5.2.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Pierrette professed a preference not only for francophone stores, media, etc. but also reports having lived exclusively in francophone neighborhoods and associating with, for the most part, monolingual francophone friends.

Based on her claim, she was assigned a 'Q' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) In the past, I have often heard Pierrette refer to herself as 'Québécoise', but during this recorded conversation she indicated that the political situation had changed in the last two years, "*Avec le nouveau gouvernement, c'est pas pareil...moins bon*" (with the new government it's not the same, [it's gotten] worse) and now she preferred *'Canadienne française*'. According to her, the separatism and nationalism implicit in the Québécois movement was disenfranchising the historically francophone minority in other parts of Acadie such as New Brunswick and Ontario "*eux, ils ne veulent pas qu'on les laisse tomber*" (they don't want us to leave them behind.) Furthermore, she reported that francophone and allophone immigrants alike were being allowed into Québec..."*on les fait entrer*"...to muddy the political waters.

Again, Keefe and Padilla's binary analysis of ethnic identity proved insufficient to capture the nuances of Pierrette's claimed identity. Since the intent

behind choosing "Canadienne française" was to include all francophones throughout Canada in opposition to an anglophone identity, I assigned her 'Q' in this factor as well. The discussion led into further issues of race, the status of immigrants--anglophone, francophone and allophone--and particularly telling comments of language choice, all of which will be discussed in 5.3, further defining her self-identification as NOT anglophone.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) All the social and family relations Pierrette has ever had reportedly have been monolingual francophone. She stated that she prefers the francophone press and shops at francophone stores and has always lived in francophone neighborhoods.

Ma tante Pierrette is renowned in the family as a great cook of *la cuisine Québécoise*, making her own homemade *ketchup maison*, her own *tourtière* (meat pie), her own *boules de viande* (meatballs in brown gravy), and *tarte à l'érable* (maple syrup pie.) She passed on to me many of her family secrets so that I could cook *les bons plats* (good dishes) for her favorite nephew (my ex-husband) and his son.

Other markers of the traditional Québécois culture--Catholicism and large families--she claimed, were no longer holding true at any level of society regardless of urban/rural distinctions or educational level. As a matter of fact, she noted, even Protestant churches were closing all over Montréal for lack of worshippers "*Tout cela diminue...partout*" (All that is weakening...everywhere.)

Pierrette scored 'Q' in this factor as well, though noting an overall change in the traditional Québécois culture. Some might interpret the diminuation of the

influence of the Catholic church as assimilation to a Protestant majority, but others, including Pierrette herself, have claimed that it is a social phenomenon affecting almost all organized religions.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Pierrette, like her sister, claimed to have been born and raised by a bilingual father and monolingual francophone mother in a francophone neighborhood in Montréal; both married francophone men and Pierrette reported having spent all adulthood in francophone neighborhoods.

She claimed to speak only French, rating her skills at 9 on a scale of 1 to 10. My personal experience is that her skills in English, which she herself rated 3, are indeed quite limited. The entire conversation with her was in French, as all have been historically over the years, and, as noted, the French letter of consent was signed and returned. She completed her high school education in a francophone school, and claimed to have never formally studied English.

Pierrette mentioned that the arts were also a popular symbolization of the Québécois tradition and culture as was the distinctive cuisine. No further details on the subject were given in this particular interview.

Because of her strong monolingual francophone orientation, Pierrette was assigned a 'Q' in this area on Table 5.2.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge cultural symbols and events) Pierrette's husband Claude, M-I-3, is also francophone and is discussed at length below in 5.2.3. I assigned Pierrette a 'Q' for this factor, based on his responses.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) The father of Pierrette and her sister Lucille was reportedly bilingual and their mother monolingual francophone. Other than his interactions with anglophones at work, the couple were "*complètement francophone*." Thus, this factor is also assigned 'Q'.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) As for discrimination because of ethnic identification, Pierrette didn't believe it existed anymore "*même en Ontario*" (even in Ontario) thanks to the protection afforded by law. She agreed with her sister's premise that this protection had allowed the rise of an educated francophone upper class. On the other hand, she remarked more than once on the racial problems that were arising with increasing immigrant and refugee populations (both francophone and allophone) learning English to assimilate into anglophone culture, racial problems that she claimed had never existed before when Montréal was "*blanc*" (white). "*Même les juïfs apprennent tous le français pour le commerce...aucun problème avec ça*" (even

the Jews all learn French for business, no problem with that). While claiming racial problems didn't exist before, Pierrette's telling comment indicates awareness of differences among peoples other than race defined as black/white skin color--here, a religion (and culture), Judaism, neither Catholic nor Protestant.

Pierrette did not report perceiving group and/or personal discrimination against Québécois now, though she acknowledged past institutional discrimination. She also cited language as well as 'race' as emerging factors, though it was the 'other' who was suffering discrimination by francophones in particular. To differentiate her responses from those of her sister and to indicate a stronger identification with francophones, I assigned her 'Q(A)' in Table 5.2.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview, I characterize Pierrette as clearly Québécoise in her identity; however, in placing her on a scale after Keefe and Padilla's model, she doesn't exactly match the criteria as being "Type I--completely unacculturated." As discussed above, she was certainly aware of the practical utility of English in traveling or in obtaining a good job, and she also acknowledged change in the traditional components of Québécois identity. Though she also did not report perceiving discrimination against herself or her group at the current time, she acknowledged discrimination based on physical characteristics (skin color), country of origin, religion and language. Pierrette does not at all accommodate English to the extent her sister does, not having the linguistic skills necessary to do that, so she conforms more closely to Type I. Again, given a more diverse range of subjects, I might have configured the categories differently than did Keefe and Padilla, but even so, the analyses of

these data indicate that they are not binary in nature, an issue which I tried to account for in adapting the instrument and which I discuss at length in Chapter Six.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	Q	Q	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q	Q	Q	Q(A)

Table 5.2. **Pierrette. Subject M-I-2.** Most closely conforms to **Type I**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.3 *Claude*. M-I-3

Lucille M-I-1 — *Pierrette*------***Claude*** M-I-2 **M-I-3**

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — *Denis* M-II-6 — *Manon* M-II-7 — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain M-III-9 — *Yannick* M-III-10

Figure 5.4. **Claude.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Claude is the husband of Pierrette, the brother-in-law of Lucille, the father of Marc, the uncle of René, Guy, Denis and Manon. He was 71 years old at the time of the interview. Claude was considered as a subject for this study since he

has been an intimate participant in this family for almost fifty years. He claimed French as his only language though he admitted to "occasional" use of English, primarily during travel in the United States. He reported no formal education in English, claiming to have learned enough to serve his anglophone clientele in his position as a butcher (since retired). He claimed no political affiliation. My representation of data reported by Claude are visually displayed in Table 5.3.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Claude claimed to speak French as a first and preferred language, using English only with anglophone customers and while traveling in the United States. He acknowledged being proud of his son's abilities in English but never felt the need himself to become more proficient in English though he admitted its practicality. "*Avant c'était le français, maintenant c'est l'anglais parlé mondialement*" (Before it was French, now it's English [that's] spoken world-wide.)

Because of his monolingual francophone orientation, despite acknowledgement of the utility of English around the world and his pride in his son's skills in English, I assigned Claude a 'Q' in language preference on Table 5.3.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Not only did Claude claim

preference for francophone media, shops and restaurants, he purported to have lived exclusively in francophone neighborhoods and to associate with monolingual francophones. He was assigned 'Q' in this factor as well.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When offered the choice between the two ethnic labels, Claude stated that the difference between 'Québécois' and 'Canadien français' "*n'est pas grosse*" (isn't big). He reported that he would expect a person with either label to speak French, especially with the new law [actually the new government enforcing the existing law] requiring immigrants to learn French, alluded to also by Lucille. For him, residence in the province was not necessarily a requirement "*Il y en a des gens...des Québécois qui sont partis*" (There are some people, some Québécois, who have left). So while the ethnic label and actual residence in the community was of little consequence to Claude, the language was a requirement; I interpreted this as a 'Q' orientation in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Claude claimed he has always lived in a francophone neighborhood and prefers to read and listen to the francophone press and to frequent francophone shops and restaurants. He has always been quite complimentary of Pierrette's cooking, which, reportedly like his mother's, features traditional Québécois dishes. For this factor also, Claude is assigned a 'Q'.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Claude rated his skills in French at 8 and in English at 5. In my experience, he is only marginally more bilingual than his stay-at-home wife, having more experience in his workplace (he is retired from the meat counter at a prominent grocery chain) with an occasional encounter with anglophone clients and while traveling some in the United States. His legal surname, which has a possible English pronunciation, is always said with French phonology, and is not markedly Québécois. All social networks are reportedly francophone. The francophone artist he mentioned when pressed for a cultural icon was the Québécois singer also popular in France, Félix Leclerc.

Based on the above data, Claude was assigned 'Q' in the factor of Cultural Heritage on Table 5.3.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) His wife of almost fifty years, Pierrette, M-I-2, was analyzed above in 5.2.2 as Type I, clearly Québécoise.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of

schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Claude's parents were not discussed in detail during this interview, nor do I have much anecdotal information about them other than the claim they were monolingual francophone. I have assigned a 'Q' in this factor based on this scant information and because there is no reason to assume otherwise, given historical probability.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) The interview with Claude was interrupted before many questions about discrimination could be discussed. However, in the context of language choice, he made a telling comment. He didn't accept the notion that Québec would ever secede "*On ne verrait jamais un Québec libre*" (We'd never see a free Québec) because of what he called the strong attachment to Canada but he affirmed the current situation was the best possible scenario--protection of the language within the Commonwealth. I understood that by not seeing Québec as free now, he somehow felt constrained, so I gave him 'Q' in this final factor.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview, I characterize Claude as clearly Québécois; however, again it is difficult to define him as being "Type I--completely unacculturated." As is the case with his wife, Claude allows the practical utility of English in traveling or in obtaining a good job, as well as the pragmatism of protecting francophone identity--above all, the language--while within the Canadian commonwealth. However, he conforms more closely to Keefe and Padilla's Type I, claiming a distinctly non-anglophone identity though he claims marginally better linguistic skills in English than his wife Pierrette.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n
	Q	Q	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q	Q	Q	Q

Table 5.3. **Claude. Subject M-I-3.** Most closely conforming to **Type I**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.4 *René.* M-II-4

Lucille *Pierrette------Claude*
M-I-1 M-I-2 M-I-3

René *Guy* *Denis* *Manon* *Marc*
M-II-4 M-II-5 M-II-6 M-II-7 M-II-8

Alain *Yannick*
M-III-9 M-III-10

Figure 5.5. **René.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

René is the son of Lucille; the nephew of Pierrette and Claude; the cousin of Marc; the brother of Guy, Manon, Denis; the father of Alain and Yannick; and my former husband. He was 48 years old at the time of the interview. He claimed French as his first language but now reportedly speaks English 75% of the time, and he acknowledged codeswitching. He reported 4 years of formal instruction in English, having completed high school in French and 3 years of

college in both French and English. He claimed affiliation with the Parti Québécois. My interpretation of the data reported by René is found visually displayed in Table 5.4.

René is the oldest of the second generation, and because of his long residence in the United States, the data collected from his interview differ in unsurprising ways from that collected from the rest of his family excepting one of his sons, Alain, who has lived in Texas and Louisiana about half his life. The interview was conducted mostly in English (noticeably influenced by French phonology), the usual language of conversation since his remarriage to an anglophone/allophone (German) bilingual woman. In our former home together, René and I codeswitched continuously in French and English, but now French is primarily reserved for interchanges in the presence of other francophone family members.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The legal name of René is French and the source of much confusion in the United States since it sounds like a woman's name in English. He maintains French phonology for both his first and family names even when speaking English. His children all have French names as well which he pronounces with French phonology, though their pronunciation and/or nicknames are anglicized by English speakers. He reported that two of his children are

"completely bilingual," another is anglophone dominant, a fourth is monolingual anglophone. He claimed 'French Canadian', not French, as his primary language, stating that though both parents could "get by" in English, French was the only language spoken in the home.

I assigned 'Q' in this factor based on the strong francophone orientation of René, however, because he is bilingual, as are his children (except for one monolingual anglophone), and because he acknowledges the use of English 75% of the time, I also assigned 'A.'

Ethnic pride and affiliation (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) René has been living and working in primarily anglophone environments in Mississippi and Texas since 1984. Previously, other than his few years as a teenager playing for an American minor league baseball team, René had reportedly lived in francophone neighborhoods and attended a francophone junior college before working a number of years as a police officer in a francophone precinct in Montréal Nord. He claimed that his friends and classmates were all monolingual francophone until the time he moved to the United States, where now they are primarily anglophone.

Once again, René is assigned 'QA' because of the two social networks in which he has lived. While in Montréal, he claimed he prefers francophone environments though while in the United States, he associates primarily with anglophones.

Cultural identification (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When asked his ethnicity, René first answered "white"; when asked more precisely whether he would prefer *'Canadien français ou Québécois'*, he claimed *'Québécois'*. He reported that his mother was "separatist too", even while he was growing up, but his father was more "French Canadian...*canadien français*...more likely to go along with the English." He was the only subject to draw that particular distinction between the two labels. He reported that he himself used to consider French Canadians who were not separatists to be "traitors", but now "...as long as they keep their language, that's the main thing."

He reported wanting to change the way he used his two languages, wanting to speak and read more French on a daily basis since he claimed to have forgotten a lot of vocabulary due to lack of practice and since so many new words, technical words, were being coined in French. While he reported getting some practice with francophones he encounters at work at the airport, lately he has been listening to French Canadian radio stations through web links and browsing sites on the internet.

Though his insistence on separatism as a part of Québécois identity has eased, René is increasingly reinforcing the maintenance of the French language as necessary for himself and other French Canadians. I assigned him 'Q' for this reason. His remarks about having 'lost' so much of his French, about not really being Québécois anymore after living so long outside the province, prompted me to also assign him 'A' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation (preferences in association and food) René reported a preference for Québécois associations of every kind while in Montréal, primarily anglophone but also allophone while in the United States. His current wife is German/English bilingual and she prepares several specialties of German origin.

René himself cooks a few Québécois specialties, especially meatballs and *pâté chinois*, a casserole of ground beef, corn and mashed potatoes. He claimed to prefer Québécois cuisine when in Montréal and is especially fond of his Tante Pierrette's cooking. He reported appreciating many different cuisines when in the United States.

While he acknowledged that the family was perhaps once considered Catholic, neither he nor any others interviewed is still practicing, and none in the second generation is still with his first Québécois spouse (only one of the seven children has his original partner and she happens to be Greek and was herself previously married and had a son). Many of the remarriages have been with spouses who were not Québécois, René included.

Again, René is assigned 'QA' based on the bi-cultural information of this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge

of cultural symbols and events) René rated himself equally in French and English, 6.5 on a scale of 1 to 10. He later judged his speaking skills better than his writing in English but his writing and reading stronger than speaking in French, all discussed in more detail in 5.3. He recounted that though the nuns who taught him were Canadian, they taught 'Standard French', though he didn't elaborate on what 'standard' meant as opposed to 'French Canadian.' He didn't recall ever hearing negative judgments about the variety of French spoken in Montréal (he did get in trouble for cursing on the playground, the role of *sacres* was discussed in 2.5.2). He learned English in classes in high school and then as a teenager spent almost two years in the United States on a minor league baseball team.

René reported extensive knowledge about the culture and history of Québec. He mentioned several politicians also mentioned by other family members but also the singer Robert Charlebois and the artist Yvon Deschamps. He did not claim similar historical knowledge of the United States but did claim knowledge of current American culture.

While René claimed knowledge of both languages, he did not rate his skills particularly high in either, though he has several years of higher education in both. He stated a preference for francophone media in Montréal and anglophone in the United States. His first name is indeed French, though is not particularly Québécois. His peers in Montréal are/were monolingual francophone, those in the United States primarily anglophone. His knowledge of

cultural symbols and historical events are predominantly Québécois, however, overall, he again rates 'QA.'

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) René and his first wife have been divorced for more than twenty years. She was/is monolingual francophone Québécoise, though her second husband was a bilingual anglophone and they lived in a predominantly anglophone neighborhood. René's subsequent wives have all been anglophone-dominant Americans. For that reason, he is assigned 'A' in this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) René's parents, Lucille and her ex-husband, were both assigned 'Q.'

Perceived discrimination (perceived group and personal discrimination) Acts of discrimination that René mentioned included not getting a job from "Jews on St. Hubert [Street in Montréal]" because he was Québécois and comments by "rednecks" in Mississippi and Texas, but he said he didn't believe that Québécois suffered wholesale discrimination in Montréal.

René has held a supervisory position at a major airport in Texas for more than 15 years. Despite the predominantly monolingual anglophone environment

he lives in, at work he has been involved with many non-native English-speakers, resident aliens and foreign citizens alike, so while his peers, superiors and subordinates at work may speak English now, many are in the same linguistic situation he finds himself in, feeling foreign in Texas but disenfranchised from their respective home environments.

He reported that as an adult he has been the target of comments about his variety of French, "When I meet people from France they realize right away where I'm from but there's not from most of them a put-down. From the English point of view...a lot of them will notice my accent and quite a few will have their nose up at me...'cause I'm a foreigner (pronounced [*f►* *r►* *njr*]...'cause they don't necessarily understand what I'm saying because of my accent. They're perplexed."

While René does not report the perception of institutional discrimination against francophones in Montréal, he does claim to have suffered personally from discrimination both in Montréal and in the United States because of his languages, both Québécois and accented English. For this reason, I have assigned 'QA' in this factor as well, noting that it is for very different reasons than the same rating his mother Lucille received. Once again Keefe and Padilla's typology fail to distinguish the nuances of each individual's construction of identity.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview and as visually represented in the chart below, I characterize René as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III--having almost equal amounts of Québécois cultural awareness and

loyalty and knowledge of anglophone (specifically U.S.) culture. I would consider him "bicultural," though it is significant that he retains his Québécois identity and is consciously reinforcing his francophone heritage. Again as in the case of Tony in Chapter Four, bicultural does not mean fitting in perfectly well in both cultures, indeed René is marked as 'different' in both, but instead he incorporates elements of both cultures without giving up elements of either. Acculturation has not been the subtractive process that Keefe and Padilla's model implies. Despite the fact that his exposure to English differs from that of the rest of his family, differs even from the experience of his son Alain who also has lived in the United States, René shares with the entire family of origin an insistence on the important role of the Québécois variety of French in his identity.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	QA	QA	QA	QA
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	QA	A	Q	QA

Table 5.4. **René. Subject M-II-4.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.5 *Guy*. M-II-5

Lucille — *Pierrette------Claude*
M-I-1 — M-I-2 M-I-3

René ***Guy*** *Denis* *Manon* *Marc*
M-II-4 **M-II-5** M-II-6 M-II-7 M-II-8

Alain *Yannick*
M-III-9 M-III-10

Figure 5.6. **Guy.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Guy is the son of Lucille; the nephew of Pierrette and Claude; the cousin of Marc; the brother of René, Denis, Manon; the uncle of Alain and Yannick. He was 38 years old at the time of the interview. He claimed French as his first language and reported using English 20% of the present time, rarely codeswitching, but considering himself bilingual despite having studied English formally only one year. He stated that he chose to learn English "*pour le travail et la vie de tous les jours, pour les voyages*" (for work and everyday life, for travel.) He is a former insurance salesman with some college experience, at the time of the interview in training for aircraft manufacture. He too claimed affiliation with the Parti Québécois. My interpretation of the data reported by Guy is found visually displayed in Table 5.5.

Guy responded almost exclusively in English in formal and informal exchanges alike while I stayed almost entirely in French, again our typical pattern of communication, though the rest of the family converses with me almost wholly in French. He spent almost the entire interview (more lengthy than the others) talking about the importance of language to his culture so many of the other topics were not explored; most of his remarks are presented in section 5.3.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Guy has a distinctly Québécois first name and goes by no other nickname. He has no children. He claimed French as his first and preferred language though he reportedly spoke English at least 50% of the time in his previous occupation of twelve years, insurance sales and investigation. He affirmed that codeswitching was very rare in Montréal, "The language is kinda the focus of the culture surrounding it." I took his comment to mean that one chose to interact in one language or the other to make a certain point, that mixing the languages would dilute the intent. He implied that one projected one's desired image in the choice of one's choice of language.

I assigned 'Q' in this factor based on the strong sentiments Guy expressed about his language preferences. However, because he uses almost exclusively English with me, his first American sister-in-law, and in his previous job about 50% of the time, I also assigned '(A)' as fully accommodating an anglophone interlocutor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Guy recalled his childhood with Lucille and his francophone father, his brothers and sister in various francophone neighborhoods of Montréal and its suburbs. He reported his schooling through college was in French and that his past and current associations were primarily with francophones.

Based on this and confirmed by anecdotal information about Guy from other members of the family, I assigned him a 'Q' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) I had heard in the past Guy refer to himself as '*Québécois*' and '*séparatiste*'; now, though he claimed to still be '*séparatiste*', he reportedly doesn't believe Quebec's independence from Canada will come for another fifteen to thirty years. Further, he hypothesized that Canada might be broken up before that, either by British Colombia due to the huge number of Asian immigrants, or perhaps by Ontario lobbying for economic independence.

Though Guy's insistence on Québécois independence has been tempered by recent political events, his assurance of its eventuality prompted me to assign him 'Q' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Again, Guy responded that most of his associations were, by choice, with francophones. Though his former wife was anglophone Canadian, his current wife is francophone. Though he formerly lived in an allophone (Italian) neighborhood, he has moved to a francophone neighborhood and grew up and was educated in a strictly francophone environment.

I rated Guy as 'Q' in this factor because of his strong francophone orientation, however, '(A)' as well for accommodating an anglophone first wife and an allophone neighborhood for a portion of his adult life.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Guy rated his skills in French at 9 on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent). He claimed to be bilingual, despite having studied English formally only one year, and to use it only 20% of the time in his new line of work ("sheet metal man for aircraft building"). He rated his skills in English at 8, a high rating perhaps explained by his use of English 50% of the time in his previous profession. My interactions with him in English confirm his linguistic skill. As already established, Guy's name is markedly Québécois, his peers were francophone, and his schooling was in French. We did not discuss cultural symbols other than language during this recorded interview.

Based on these data, Guy was strongly 'Q' in his cultural heritage, except in his knowledge and high self-rating in English. Once again, Keefe and Padilla's model cannot capture this critical nuance of language accommodation (discussed further in 5.3), I assigned him therefore '(A)' as well.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Though Guy's current spouse was not interviewed for this study, I know her to be strongly francophone, speaking virtually no English. However, Guy's former wife was English

Canadian but able to converse with her in-laws in French since she was bilingual. Based on these facts, I again rated him 'Q(A)'.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) As discussed above in 5.2.1 and 5.2.4, both Lucille and Guy's father were 'Q' in this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) Though this factor was not treated as such during the interview, Guy's remarks explored more thoroughly in 5.3 indicate that while he concedes hearing tales of discrimination against francophones in Canada in the past, he didn't recall specific instances himself since he was able to accommodate anglophones both personally and professionally. To attempt to notate on a binary scale the neutrality of his response, like that of his mother, I assigned 'QA'.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview, I characterize Guy as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type II, like his mother Lucille, clearly Québécois in his identity, preferring French and francophone environments, rating his linguistic skills in his first language quite high, maintaining his political orientation to separatism, yet accommodating anglophone interlocutors and allophone environments, rating his own skills in English very high, having previously married an anglophone, not recalling any incidents of personal discrimination.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n
	Q(A)	Q	Q	Q(A)
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q(A)	Q(A)	Q	QA

Table 5.5. **Guy. Subject M-II-5.** Most closely conforms to **Type II**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.6 *Denis*. M-II-6

Lucille M-I-1 — *Pierrette*------*Claude* M-I-2 M-I-3

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — ***Denis*** **M-II-6** — *Manon* M-II-7 — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain M-III-9 — *Yannick* M-III-10

Figure 5.7. **Denis.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Denis is the son of Lucille; the nephew of Pierrette and Claude; the cousin of Marc; the brother of René and Guy, the twin of Manon; the uncle of Alain and Yannick. He was 36 years old at the time of the interview. He claimed French as his first language and reported using English only 10% of the time, very rarely codeswitching. He reported considering himself bilingual, having studied English for several years in high school. He chose to learn English, he said, because it

was "*un pré-requis dans presque tous les emplois*" (a prerequisite for almost all jobs.) He claimed "*pas d'affiliation [politique], mais des convictions (comme la religion) c'est personnel*" (no affiliation but convictions--like religion--it's personal.) My interpretation of the data reported by Denis (or based on information collected about him which I know to be true through my long association with him and his family) is found visually displayed in Table 5.6.

There was not an opportunity for an extended conversation with Denis about all the categories. Most of the short interview was spent talking about language choice so many of the other topics were not explored; most of his remarks are presented in section 5.3.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Denis did claim French as his first language, like the rest of his family, and considered himself bilingual, though speaking French 90% of the time. He claimed to use English primarily for work and travel, having studied it three years in high school. He indicated that his language of choice in any situation in Montréal would be French but he could and would accommodate English if the interlocutor could not speak French, except for an expensive transaction such as shopping for a car.

Because of Denis' francophone orientation and his markedly Québécois first name (he has no children), I assigned 'Q' in this factor. However, because he

stated he could and would accommodate English both at work and traveling, I also assigned '(A)'.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Denis stated that most of his friends were francophone, and that though some were bilingual to some degree, they spoke French. His childhood and most of his adulthood have reportedly been spent in francophone and allophone (Italian--see 5.2.1) neighborhoods. His significant other is francophone.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) This topic was not specifically treated during the interview but my long years of association with Denis and his family led me to assign 'Q'. Denis explicitly declined to discuss his political affiliation. I am unsure as to why he would not explore the subject of politics with me, but, of my in-laws, he has been the most reserved about personal convictions.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Again, this factor was not discussed as such during the interview. I assigned Denis 'Q' because his friends, neighborhood and significant other were reported as francophone, and I know him to be especially fond of *la cuisine québécoise*.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge

of cultural symbols and events) I rated Denis 'Q(A)' in this factor because of his professed bilingualism and accommodation to English despite his preference for French, his acknowledged preference for francophone media and shopping, his marked first name, his overwhelmingly francophone social network and schooling. We did not discuss cultural symbols and events, though he has demonstrated to me on many previous occasions a remarkable knowledge of Québécois culture and interest in the family genealogy, tracing their origins to Brittany in the 17th century.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge cultural symbols and events) I have not met this significant other nor was she interviewed, though she is reportedly strongly francophone. Denis was assigned 'Q' in this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) As discussed above, both Lucille and her children's father were 'Q' in this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) This factor was not discussed in the interview nor did I remark inferences to his probable attitude, so I did not assign a value.

I characterize Denis as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type II, like his mother Lucille and brother Guy, clearly Québécois in his identity, preferring French and francophone environments yet willingly accommodating anglophone interlocutors and allophone environments. However, lost in this typing is the remarkable difference between Denis and the rest of his immediate family, his declining to discuss his political orientation. With his remarks about language choice examined in 5.3, Denis does insist on French as the linguistic marker of identity.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	Q(A)	Q	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q(A)	Q	Q	

Table 5.6. **Denis. Subject M-II-6.** Most closely conforms to **Type II**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.7 *Manon*. M-II-7

Lucille M-I-1 — *Pierrette*------*Claude* M-I-2 M-I-3

René M-II-4 — *Guy* M-II-5 — *Denis* M-II-6 — ***Manon*** **M-II-7** — *Marc* M-II-8

Alain *Yannick*
M-III-9 M-III-10

Figure 5.8. **Manon.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Manon is the only daughter of Lucille; the niece of Pierrette and Claude; the cousin of Marc; the sister of René and Guy, the twin of Denis; the aunt of Alain and Yannick. She was 36 years old at the time of the interview. She claimed French as her first language and reported using English 50% of the time in her current work as a very successful freelance translator. She claimed to codeswitch only rarely, though she acknowledged the practice was wide-spread among bilinguals in Montréal. She considered herself bilingual despite never having studied English formally, claiming to have chosen to learn it "*parce que c'est utile de le parler*" (because it's useful to speak it.) She claimed affiliation with the Parti Québécois. My interpretation of the data reported by Manon is found visually displayed in Table 5.7.

The interchanges, formal and informal alike, were primarily in French, though there was some intra-sentential as well as inter-sentential codeswitching, particularly in the informal exchanges. When I remarked upon the presence of codeswitching after reminding her she had indicated she rarely did it, Manon claimed to mix languages more than others might, given her translation business and bilingual home environments.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Manon declared her first and preferred language to be French, claiming to use French "*partout*" (everywhere) and English only at work and with her anglophone husband and his family and friends. Her first name is markedly Québécois though her new son's name is one that can be pronounced in either language. She affirmed that she intended to speak mostly French to the new baby (born in fall 2001) so that, with an anglophone father and paternal family members, he could grow up bilingual.

To rate Manon according to Keefe and Padilla's typology was again problematic. Manon claimed to prefer French, yet with her bilingual environment at home and at work, she considered that she used English as often. Since it's not really a matter of accommodation as seen with her mother and brothers, her rating in this factor is more like her brother René who uses both languages everyday. And especially because of her determination to raise a bilingual son, I assigned Manon 'QA' in this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Manon reported that her social network is now about half francophone and half anglophone; her work as an English-French translator keeps her in touch with both anglophone and francophone clients and her new in-laws are anglophone. She lived outside of Montréal (mostly in and around Toronto, which is predominantly anglophone with a large immigrant allophone/anglophone bilingual presence) for about three-

and-a-half years (though she and her husband and baby are back in the province of Québec now). I assigned her 'QA' in this factor as well in light of this bilingual-bicultural environment both at work and at home. Again, though this is the same rating as her brother René, the difference, which is lost in the binary rating system, is that he is bicultural Québécois-U.S. American while she is bicultural Québécois-Anglo Canadian. In her case, also different from her brother, she seems equally at home in both cultures and easily passes in both as neither her French nor her English is marked by the other. She is easily the most fluently balanced bilingual of the family (and other than her name, there are no overt markers of her heritage).

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) Although she doesn't see any strong political leaders on the current scene, Manon stated that she considers herself "*Québécoise séparatiste francophone*" as well as "*Québécoise de souche*" (of original stock)--indeed the family has traced their geneology to their forefather, an immigrant from Brittany who arrived in Acadie in the mid-1600's; these '*Québécois de souche, d'origine*' see themselves as francophone by definition. For her, the term "Q*uébécois d'adoption*" has to do primarily with residence within the province, though they are more likely anglophone immigrants. So for her, one must distinguish between the francophones and anglophones, then between the citizens of the province of Québec that are content to remain a part of Canada (primarily but not necessarily anglophone) and the *'séparatistes'* (primarily francophones *'de souche'*) who want independence from Canada. At this point, she judged that the citizens of

Québec were only 50-50 in favor of seceding--the latest talk was of self-direction within the Commonwealth (echoing her uncle). As for the label '*Canadien français*', she reported that for her, "*On parle maintenant des francophones, ceux qui parlent français au Nouveau Brunswick...le mot 'Canadien français' n'existe plus...c'est un ancien terme*" (Now one talks about francophones, those who speak French [in other parts of Canada outside Québec] in New Brunswick...the word 'French Canadian' doesn't exist anymore...it's an old term.) She echoed her brother Guy's sentiment that British Colombia and the provinces to the west would lead the way to loosening Canadian federal control over the next 25 years.

Based on her strong self-identification as a francophone separatist, I assigned Manon 'Q' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Though the interview did not include a discussion of preferences in food (she is not known in the family as a cook), Manon rated 'QA' in this factor based on her assertion that she preferred to spend about as much time with anglophone friends and family as francophone.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Manon claimed a preference for francophone stores and written press though both francophone and anglophone television and

radio. Her name, as discussed above, is Québécois, her early peers were monolingual francophone, and her schooling through college was exclusively in French.

Manon rated her French skills at 9 on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent) and her English at 8. She reported that she considered herself fully bilingual despite never having formally studied English. Her mother Lucille has often commented to me that Manon is the most truly bilingual of her children, "*Elle parle anglais sans accent*" (She speaks English without an accent.) The rest of her family has offered the same assessment of her proficiency at various times. Manon did remark upon the number of anglicisms in everyday speech especially in Montréal but did agree that by and large they were phonologically modified to French. She reported that she thought that there was quite a bit of '*argot*' (slang) in the speech of francophone Montréalais.

Like other family members, Manon mentioned René Lévesque as the guarantor of francophone rights to education in the 1960's, a francophone education which, as she and her mother among many have claimed, has enabled an increasingly upwardly mobile Québécois population. "*Il a mis la fierté dans ses gens, à s'instruire, à devenir quelqu'un...il a valorisé la culture*." (He put pride in his people, to get an education, to become somebody...he gave value to the culture.) She did remark that this culture was essentially French when compared to anglophone Canadian culture, but wasn't really French anymore either after so many centuries separated from France and influenced by

Americans, the creolization/hybridization of the culture as discussed in Chapter Two.

Manon rated her own linguistic skills almost equally strong in French and English, claiming bilingualism, proud of her lack of French accent in English, incorporating some common criticism of the Québécois variety of French in her own comments. Despite her francophone childhood and the fact she returned to the topic of a particular francophone identity, I assigned 'QA' as completely bicultural in this particular factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Manon's new husband is markedly anglophone with practically no French linguistic abilities or experiences, being from the Toronto area. Her previous partner of several years was also anglophone, but an immigrant of Indian descent so bilingual English-allophone. Based on this data, I assigned Manon 'A' in this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) As previously discussed, Manon's parents were assigned 'Q' in this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination)

This topic was not discussed so no rating is given in this factor.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview and as visually represented in the chart below, I characterize Manon as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III--having almost equal amounts of Québécois cultural awareness and loyalty and knowledge of anglophone (Canadian) culture. I would consider her almost "bicultural," though it is significant that she retains her Québécois identity and is consciously reinforcing her francophone heritage. She differs from her brother René (and nephew Alain discussed in 5.2.9) in the construction of a bicultural identity in that it is anglophone Canadian social networks that are shared with francophone within Québec, not U.S. American outside of Québec in Texas. And while René expressed ambivalence about his current linguistic skills in French, Manon rates her skills in French and English almost equally high. They share with the rest of the family an insistence on the important role of the Québécois variety of French in their identity while Manon underlined the historical basis of the claim.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	QA	QA	Q	QA
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	QA	A	Q	

Table 5.7. **Manon. Subject M-II-7.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.8 *Marc*. M-II-8

Lucille — *Pierrette*------*Claude*
M-I-1 — M-I-2 — M-I-3

René — *Guy* — *Denis* — *Manon* — ***Marc***
M-II-4 — M-II-5 — M-II-6 — M-II-7 — **M-II-8**

Alain — *Yannick*
M-III-9 — M-III-10

Figure 5.9. **Marc.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Marc is the nephew of Lucille, the son of Pierrette and Claude, and the cousin of the other subjects of the second and third generations. While he is technically a member of the second generation of this family, he is closer in age (30 at the time of the interview) to the third generation and, as I have observed over the years, is considered by the family as more the peer of the latter than of the former. Marc claimed French as his first and primary language and, while not having formally studied English, claimed functional bilingualism, though his definition of that was not detailed. He is one of the few in the family to have completed his university education and gone on to professional certification as an accountant. His interview was conducted almost entirely in French with a few English words intended for emphasis and clarity. My interpretation of the data from his interview is visually represented in Table 5.8.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) The name Marc is pronounced with French phonology, though it is not markedly Québécois; he claimed no nickname. French was his reported first and preferred language. Marc first claimed that his language choice was conditioned by his interlocutor and geography, "[*Je parle complètement en anglais] avec une personne unilingue...ou quand je suis à l'extérieur du Québec*" (I speak completely in English when I'm talking with a monolingual person...or when I'm outside of Québec). However, he also indicated that he would respond only in French if approached in any Montréal neighborhood, anglophone or francophone, in either language, breaking off the interaction in all situations except a dinner in an anglophone neighborhood if the interlocutor could or would not speak French. This strong assertion of pre-eminence of French within Montréal and the deliberate refusal to accommodate anglophones set him apart from most of the rest of the family and is discussed further in 5.3.

Because Marc claimed such a strong francophone orientation, including insistence on the exclusive use of French in Montréal yet would accommodate an anglophone unable to interact in French, particularly outside Montréal, I assigned him 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Growing up, Marc's playmates and classmates were reportedly francophone, and he continues to live

in a francophone neighborhood in which his social network is reportedly almost exclusively francophone. He is recently engaged to a francophone. Therefore, I assigned him 'Q' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) Marc claimed no particular political affiliation, but like his parents, engaged in discussion (elaborated in 5.3) that made known his political ideology, unlike his cousin Denis who declined to discuss political views. I assigned Marc 'Q' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Marc continues to live with his parents in a reportedly francophone neighborhood, though he is engaged to be married, and he claimed that his social network is almost exclusively francophone. His mother Pierrette is the family's most celebrated cook though he is known in the family as a picky eater who indulges in fast food when left to his own devices. I assigned Marc 'Q' in this factor as well.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Marc considered himself a functional bilingual; he claimed to be able to manage his duties as an accountant and especially as a webmaster on the Internet in both French and English. Having grown up strongly francophone with advanced education in French, he judged his skills in French to

be 10 in speaking, understanding and reading while 8 in writing. Though he claimed very little formal study of English as a required subject in school, he rated his skills in English at 6 for speaking, 9 for understanding and reading and 7 for writing. His parents, as discussed above, often have claimed how helpful he is while traveling in the United States. Marc claimed to not codeswitch though he admitted to a number of anglicisms in his speech and in that of the Montréal area, especially among the young.

In our discussion about cultural symbols Marc remarked about the new "*ouverture d'esprit*" (opening of the mind) of the French, accepting more easily icons of popular Québécois culture, singers like Elisabeth Brulet, for example. He affirmed, though, that for him the Québécois culture is symbolized by the language despite a wealth of cultural tradition in the music, the television programs that are acclaimed world-wide, and "*la bonne poutine*" (french-fried potatoes with gravy and melted cheese, symbolizing Québécois cuisine). The other stereotypes of the Catholic Québécois with large families, subsisting as farmers or fishermen or lumberjacks, all changed, according to Marc, in 1960 with '*la révolution tranquille*' (the peaceful revolution). He insisted further that the Québécois had kept their language alive, intentionally not assimilating to the anglophone society, continuing anti-assimilation sentiment brought from Europe by the original French and English settlers.

Again I had great difficulty in rating these comments according to Keefe and Padilla's typology. Marc spoke passionately about the importance of the role of language in maintaining Québécois identity as distinct from Canadian yet he

could and would accommodate an anglophone interlocuter, rating himself bilingual. I chose to assign 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge cultural symbols and events) I have not met Marc's fiancée but she is reportedly francophone, so I assigned 'Q' in this factor.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Both Marc's parents Pierrette and Claude were typed I, clearly unacculturated, identifying wholly with Québécois culture.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) This topic was not discussed during the interview so the factor is not rated.

I characterize Marc as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type II, like his aunt Lucille and cousins Guy and Denis, clearly Québécois in his identity, preferring French and francophone environments yet willing to accommodate anglophone interlocutors and environments. Like his cousin Denis and his own parents Pierrette and Claude, Marc declined to name his political affiliation; however, with his remarks about language it is clear that he does insist on French as the linguistic marker of identity.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n
	Q(A)	Q	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q(A)	Q	Q	

Table 5.8. **Marc. Subject M-II-8.** Most closely conforming to **Type II**

on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.9 *Alain*. M-III-9

Lucille — *Pierrette*------*Claude*
M-I-1 — M-I-2 M-I-3

René *Guy* *Denis* *Manon* *Marc*
M-II-4 M-II-5 M-II-6 M-II-7 M-II-8

Alain *Yannick*
M-III-9 M-III-10

Figure 5.10. **Alain.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Alain is the brother of Yannick, the son of René, the nephew of Guy, Denis and Manon, the cousin of Marc, the great-nephew of Pierrette and Claude, the grandson of Lucille and my stepson. He claimed French as his first language but has been a resident of Texas since 1988 and claimed he now speaks English 90% of the time. He was 26 years old at the time of the interview. Alain is a computer programmer with a national department store after having completed

his degree at public university in a neighboring state. He claimed to have studied English formally since the fourth grade, he acknowledged codeswitching, he reported an almost exclusively anglophone environment except for family visits. My interpretation of the data from his interview is visually displayed in Table 5.9.

The data collected from Alain were, like those of his father, markedly different from those of the rest of the family. Moving from Montréal to Texas to live and study in 1988, his formal education here in middle school, high school, and university has all been in English, though he has continued to speak Québécois at home with his father and with family and friends in Montréal during frequent visits. Unless in the presence of anglophones, Alain has always spoken French with me, and I now respond in French. For many years, however, I responded solely in English in order to have both languages in the home in order to facilitate his bilingualism.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) Alain is a French name though he goes by an English equivalent. When asked his language preference he remarked the unnaturalness of speaking with bilinguals in the dispreferred language, for example, with his father in English, "*Je préfère...la première langage que je parle avec la personne*" (I prefer...the first language that I speak with the person). When asked which language he used when upset or tired, he replied, "*Ça dépend*

de la façon que je pense au moment" (That depends on the way I'm thinking at the moment). Though he has since married an anglophone woman, Alain reported intending to raise a bilingual child whose name reflects his/her mixed ethnic background. I assigned 'QA' to reflect the bilingual-bicultural nature of his remarks in this factor. Alain, like his aunt Manon and unlike his father René, passes between the two cultures rather freely, not being particularly marked in either.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Most of Alain's social network in Texas is anglophone except for his father; in Montréal, he claimed that those in his social network were of francophone origin and that they spoke primarily French though most were also bilingual. Again I assigned 'QA' to reflect his bicultural orientation.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When asked his ethnic identity, Alain too, like his father, said "*blanc*" (white). When it was clarified that the question wasn't about race or citizenship (a topic to which I return in 5.3), he answered "*Canadien français...Québécois...c'est la même chose*" (it's the same thing.) While claiming separatist affiliation, Alain never elaborated in any discussion. He acknowledged that the number of anglophone citizens of the province were called 'Quebeckers'. Then he later clarified that most of his American friends wouldn't know what Québécois means, so he would call himself 'French Canadian'. He also admitted that he thinks of himself as truly "*mixte*", a bicultural mix. For this reason and

especially the fact that he didn't distinguish between *Canadien Français* and *Québécois*, I assigned '(Q)A'.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Alain professed to prefer *la cuisine québécoise* to American food, choosing *la poutine*, fried potatoes with melted cheese and gravy, over American french-fries. He indicated that if he were to return to live in Montréal, he would choose to live in a francophone neighborhood. However, he has married a Texan and has chosen not to return to Montréal, so I assigned 'QA' for this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Alain goes by his French name in Montréal and by the English version of his nickname in Texas. His early peers and schooling were absolutely francophone but strongly anglophone (and American) after the age of 13. Alain reported very little knowledge of the history of Québec or of the current political scene though he was aware of the cultural holiday of June 24, *la Fête de St-Jean Baptiste*. The only Québécois cultural icon he could name was Céline Dion.

When asked to evaluate his skills in the languages, Alain rated himself at about 8 in French (depending, he said, on how long it had been since his last visit to Montréal). He rated himself 10 in speaking English, 8-9 in writing. He

claimed French as his mother tongue. Both his father and mother are francophone and though his step-father was anglophone, their home was francophone. His home with his father and me was bilingual. When asked about reactions to the variety of French he speaks Alain reported some comments he heard in school from his Québécois teachers about some of the populisms that mark spoken Québécois, *joussent* instead of *jouent*, for example (alternative forms of the third person plural of certain verbs to which I also had called attention at home during his youth). The other experience he recounted occurred in my presence. On vacation in France in 1990, the French family we were visiting could not understand him when he spoke though he understood them fairly well; interference was ascribed as partly lexical but primarily phonological. Alain reported studying English in elementary school, and when he came to live in Texas in the bilingual home his father and I had established, he was mainstreamed with little difficulty into English-only instruction in the middle school.

Again I had great difficulty capturing the complexity of Alain's remarks in this factor with Keefe and Padilla's typology. He professed very little Québécois cultural knowledge, indicated some ambivalence about the variety of French he spoke, and had spent as many years at an older age in the American culture as he had as an infant and young child in Montréal and its suburbs, yet he rated his skills in French only slightly less than in English. The critical element of his claim to '*mixte*' was his balanced bilingualism--not necessarily balanced biculturalism. I assigned 'QA' though that rating doesn't reflect this critical nuance.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge cultural symbols and events) Alain's wife (married summer 2001) is monolingual anglophone, a native of Texas.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Alain's biological parents were strongly francophone during his infancy. His mother remarried a bilingual anglophone and they lived in a predominantly anglophone suburb of Montréal for a number of years, however their home and most associations were francophone. His father subsequently moved to the United States; all Alain's step-mothers have been anglophone dominant. He lived the longest (almost 6 years) in the bilingual household his father and I established. For these reasons I assigned 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) The only discrimination that Alain cited was what he had read in the newspapers about the attitude of the rest of Canada toward Québec; he claimed he had not experienced discrimination either in Montréal or in Texas/Louisiana because of his ethnic background or language choice. Again, to indicate neutrality in this factor I assigned 'QA'.

On the basis of data gathered in this interview and as visually represented in the chart below, I characterize Alain, like his father René and his aunt Manon, as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type III--having almost equal amounts of Québécois cultural loyalty and knowledge of anglophone culture. I wouldn't necessarily consider him fully bicultural as discussed above, though he claimed he passes as American while he retains his Québécois identity, is consciously reinforcing his francophone heritage, intending to pass that identity to his future children. It is significant that Alain's exposure to English differs from that of the rest of his family, even his father who also has lived in the United States; however, he shares with all of them an insistence on the important role of the Québécois variety of French in his identity.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	**Language Preference**	**Ethnic Pride and Affiliation**	**Cultural Identificat'n**	**Ethnic Social Orientat'n**
	QA	QA	(Q)A	QA
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	QA	A	Q(A)	QA

Table 5.9. **Alain. Subject M-III-9.** Most closely conforming to **Type III** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.2.10 *Yannick*. M-III-10

Lucille M-I-1 *Pierrette------Claude* M-I-2 M-I-3

René	*Guy*	*Denis*	*Manon*	*Marc*
M-II-4	M-II-5	M-II-6	M-II-7	M-II-8

Alain ***Yannick***
M-III-9 **M-III-10**

Figure 5.11. **Yannick.** Montréal informants.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Yannick is the brother of Alain, the younger son of René, the nephew of Guy, Denis and Manon, the cousin of Marc, the great-nephew of Pierrette and Claude, the grandson of Lucille and also my stepson. He was 23 years old at the time of the interview. He claimed French as his first and preferred language. Yannick contended that though he considered himself bilingual, almost never codeswitching, he rarely spoke English at the present time. He claimed to have studied English formally since the age of 9, learning primarily to order to watch American television as a child and later playing American computer games. Yannick reported a predominantly francophone environment and claimed affiliation with the "*souvereignistes...séparatiste est un nom anglais*" (separatist is an English label.) My interpretation of the data from his interview is visually displayed in Table 5.10.

The interview with Yannick, the youngest family member in the study, was conducted entirely in French, typical of our conversations. While he is also my stepson, he never lived in the household his father and I established with his older brother, Alain. Instead, he visited fairly often, four to five times per year for durations of about seven to ten days, but he remained in a predominantly

francophone household with his monolingual francophone mother and bilingual anglophone step-father living in a primarily anglophone Montréal suburb.

Ethnic Loyalty/ethnic identification "the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another"

Language preference: (preference of language in personal situations as well as with other people, language of first name and children's first names, children's preferred language) As for language choice, Yannick reported that he would answer an approach in English in a francophone environment with both languages. "*Je commence en anglais et je montre que je suis français*" (I begin in English and I show that I am French). He would conduct a transaction in English in an anglophone environment and would stay in English if the waiter/salesclerk gave obvious cues that he/she was not fluent in French. He also indicated that he would not terminate the interaction if English were the only choice. However, he did add, "*Si c'est un dépanneur à Dorval, OK, mais dans les grandes entreprises je m'attends qu'ils parlent en français*" (If it is a convenience store in Dorval [historically anglophone] OK, but in larger businesses I expect them to speak French). The only time he indicated that he would insist on speaking French would be with an obnoxious person trying to force the language choice issue.

Despite Yannick's ethnically marked name, preference for French and avowed political affiliation, he readily accommodated anglophones and claimed bilingualism, so I assigned 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Ethnic pride and affiliation: (high regard for one culture over the other, preferring to associate with one group over the other) Yannick declared that his

associations were almost exclusively francophone so he received 'Q' in this factor.

Cultural identification: (self-identification, preference of one culture over the other) When asked his ethnic label, Yannick claimed *'Québécois'* and when asked if one had to speak French to be considered Québécois, he answered, "*Pas nécessairement--il faut sentir Québécois*." (Not necessarily--you have to feel Québécois.) "*Un canadien français est francophone mais qui habite pas nécessairement au Québec. Il n'a pas le même sentiment d'appartenance au Québec*." (A French Canadian is francophone but doesn't necessarily live in Québec. He doesn't have the same feeling of belonging to Québec.) While Yannick didn't discuss separatism, he was clear that he made a distinction between being francophone and being Québécois, so I assigned 'Q' in this factor.

Ethnic social orientation: (preferences in association and food) Yannick's schoolmates and playmates were primarily monolingual francophone; however, he studied English in school for more than 6 years (though he claimed he learned more traveling in Ontario and watching cartoons on TV than he did in class). His friends still tend to be francophone dominant, even those who might be bilingual. While Yannick is known as a fairly indiscriminate eater, he said he preferred Québécois food over any other. Therefore, I assigned him 'Q' in this factor.

Cultural Awareness/degree of acculturation "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits...of the traditional and host cultures"

Respondent's cultural heritage: (knowledge of one language but not the other, preference of media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) The legal name of Yannick is markedly Québécois. He denied any nickname, particularly the English nickname of his French given name, though I have heard his father René use it many times. His current network is francophone though he had been working with mostly bilinguals in his previous job. His peers growing up were almost exclusively francophone as was his education through junior college.

When asked for cultural icons, Yannick mentioned the Québécois novelist Hubert Aquin, the singer Céline Dion, the politician René Lévesque, and the comedy group Rock et Belles Oreilles. In addition to the Québécois holiday June 24, he mentioned a new holiday in November, *la Fête des Patriotes*, to commemorate the soldiers who fought for independence from England. For him, the ethnicity (beyond being Québécois or not) of his partner was not particularly important, and he didn't believe that anyone in the family thought that marrying someone who was not Québécois would make for trouble in the marriage.

Yannick rated his skills in French at 10 for reading and understanding, 8 for speaking and writing. His skills in English he rated also at 10 for reading and understanding but 7 for speaking and 5 for writing. At his former employment he claimed to speak English about 50% of the time because of the number of anglophone clients, but said currently he speaks English only about 5 % of the

time. He considered himself fully bilingual, denied codeswitching but mentioned that it was not uncommon as slang among young people.

Again, while Yannick should be considered almost wholly francophone in his responses, he rated himself completely fluent in reading and understanding English with many years of formal study. Because his name, his peers, the language of his schooling, his cultural knowledge indicate strong francophone orientation, I assigned him 'Q(A)' in light of his claimed bilingualism.

Spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (spouse's knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge cultural symbols and events) Yannick has not been married and was not in a relationship at the time of the interview. However his previous girlfriend was francophone, so I assigned him 'Q' at this time.

Parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride: (parents' knowledge of one language but not the other, preference for media in one language over the other, ethnically marked first name, peers in childhood and/or adolescence, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events) Yannick and Alain's biological parents were strongly francophone during their infancy and early childhood. Their monolingual francophone mother remarried a bilingual anglophone, and they lived in a predominantly anglophone suburb of Montréal for a number of years; however, their home and most associations were francophone. Their father subsequently moved to the United States, and all their stepmothers have been anglophone dominant; however, Yannick continued to live in Montréal

with his mother and step-father. He only visited the bilingual household his father and I established. I assigned 'Q(A)' in this factor, yet the anglophone influence is markedly less for Yannick than it has been for Alain.

Perceived discrimination: (perceived group and personal discrimination) Yannick stated that he didn't really think that discrimination was as big a problem in Montréal as in New York or Chicago, though he admitted there were some who didn't like blacks, or francophones who didn't like anglophones and vice-versa. He didn't think there was institutional discrimination though "*Pour les emplois, si t'es bilingue t'as toujours un avantage sur celui qui est unilingue*" (As for jobs, if you're bilingual, you always have an advantage over a monolingual.) He did note discrimination against francophones in Ontario, however; "*Moi, je dirais parce qu'ils connaissent très peu les Québécois*." (I would say it's because they know very little about the Québécois.) Because he discounts institutional or wide-spread discrimination in Montréal while acknowledging it in Ontario, I assigned 'Q(A)' in this factor.

Based on my interpretation of his responses as visually displayed below, I characterize Yannick as being closest to Keefe and Padilla's Type II, like his grandmother Lucille and uncles Guy and Denis and cousin Marc, clearly Québécois in his identity, preferring French and francophone environments yet remarkably willing to accommodate anglophone interlocutors and environments. The differences in the subjects of this type are discussed in 5.3.

ETHNIC LOYALTY	Language Preference	Ethnic Pride and Affiliation	Cultural Identificat'n	Ethnic Social Orientat'n

	Q(A)	Q	Q	Q
CULTURAL AWARENESS	**Respondnt's Cultural Heritage**	**Spouse's Cultural Heritage**	**Parent's Cultural Heritage**	**Perceived Discrimina-tion**
	Q(A)	Q	Q(A)	Q(A)

Table 5.10. **Yannick. Subject M-III-10.** Most closely conforming to **Type II** on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.
A=Anglo/anglophone, Q=Québécois

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF MONTRÉAL FAMILY AS CASE

While it would not be unexpected that the long-time personal relationship with this family in Montréal would yield data that differ so significantly in tone from that gathered in San Antonio from "friends of a friend" (albeit cooperative and highly motivated), the difference in content is remarkable. It is quite apparent that issues of ethnicity, language choice, language policy and politics are all topics of interest to all members of this family (with the possible exception of Alain, having lived half of his life outside Québec) and were confirmed as playing a huge role in public discourse in Montréal in particular. The family admitted that language and culture are issues in an ongoing discussion both in their family and in their community, indeed even at the federal level of government. Main themes distilled by Strauss and Corbin's Grounded theory are the primary role of language in constructing identity, political change allowing upward socio-economic mobility while maintaining language, other requirements of identity such as geography and nationalism, and creolization/hybridization of culture

leading to separation from and ultimate acceptance as a distinct identity by continental French.

The information collected from the secondary personal questions following the questionnaires of Woolard and Heller added further details and possible motivations of the interview data obtained with adaptations of Keefe and Padilla's questions. I had anticipated that the family members analyzed as Type I on Keefe and Padilla's scale would be least likely to have detached the language component from their identity and would be most likely to choose French in all situations; those of Type V would be most likely to have detached the heritage language and so accommodate English is most/all transactions. As is evident in 5.2, this was not at all the case. Despite claims of at least functional bilingualism by all but two subjects, the two rated as Type I, all subjects affirmed the Québécois variety of French as **essential** to their identity even while accommodating English and anglophones in most situations, including intermarriage. The factor cited as second most important to this construction of identity was a sense of belonging to Québec, a sense of nationalism that often, though not necessarily, led to political affiliation with the separatist movement, voiced by all subjects including those analyzed as Type III. The Montréal family's construction of identity as a case is examined in further detail below and is compared to that of the San Antonio family in Chapter Six.

5.3.1 Components of ethnicity

Lucille	*Pierrette------Claude*	
M-I-1 **II**	M-I-2 **I**	M-I-3 **I**

René *Guy* *Denis* *Manon* *Marc*
M-II-4 **III** M-II-5 **II** M-II-6 **II** M-II-7 **III** M-II-8 **II**

Alain Yannick
M-III-9 **III** M-III-10 **II**

Figure 5.12. Montréal informants by type.

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

As in Chapter Four, for the report of data along the two axes and eight dimensions as established by Keefe and Padilla, constant adaptations had to be made in assigning the Montréal subjects to one of the five types of ethnic orientation. While marginally useful on the whole to scale subjects' components of identity relative to one another, the continuum is still polar and does not capture differences between subjects of the same type. Indeed, though this body of qualitative data recovers subtleties what would have been lost in a purely quantitative analysis, the factors examined remain relatively arbitrary and ill-defined and often not wholly justified. In any case, the data collected from this one family on this occasion again pointed up the insufficiency of the Keefe and Padilla model: acculturation/assimilation is not necessarily a subtractive process but an additive one. These subjects were both 'ethnic' **and** 'assimilated' in **different** ways in each of the factors. Identity was constructed for/with me, a sympathetic out-group member, very differently for each individual, yet the relationship of that identity to language claiming varied much less than in the San Antonio subjects: all these subjects saw language as a requirement of identity.

It is not insignificant to note here that all of my Montréal respondents still residing in Québec have been analyzed as either Type I or II, except for one analyzed as Type III, Manon, arguably the most balanced bilingual, having lived in anglophone Toronto for 3-1/2 years, and married to an English Canadian. However, even she identified strongly with francophone culture over anglophone, again reinforcing a specifically Québécois identity as separate from continental French. The only other subjects identified as Type III were the two subjects who have lived in Texas for more than 13 years.

As examined above in 5.2, two members of the second generation, René and his younger sister Manon, and one of the third, René's son Alain, are the only three who might be considered truly bilingual-bicultural, Type III. The factors that seem to distinguish Type III from I or II are a bilingual 'QA' Language Preference and Ethnic Pride and Social Orientation as well as an anglophone 'A' Spouse's Cultural Heritage. However, their responses in certain factors differed so dramatically as to make the typology useful only to grossly compare across, not within, types. Examining the eight factors one by one, all three subjects were analyzed as bilingual in Language Preference; however, Manon alternated freely and proficiently between the Québécois variety of French and Canadian English in Canada (Montréal and Toronto, specifically) while René and Alain alternated between Québécois in Montréal and American English elsewhere in the United States, René in particular rating his proficiency as lower. As for Ethnic Pride and Affiliation and Ethnic Social Orientation, all three were analyzed as 'QA', choosing to spend as much time with one group as the other. Differences among

René, Manon and Alain were once again very evident, however, in Cultural Identification: Manon was analyzed as 'Q', more like Type II, while René was 'QA' and Alain was '(Q)A', almost Type IV. The fact that all three had the same analysis in the factor Respondent's Cultural Heritage, 'QA', belied the individual differences in the factor. Alain (and his brother Yannick) were the only two subjects for whom the factor Parent's Cultural Heritage was not clearly 'Q'. Finally, both René and Alain were analyzed as 'QA' for Perceived Discrimination (Manon was not rated).

Those analyzed as Type II included Lucille of the first generation; Guy, Denis and Marc of the second; and Yannick of the third generation. While they were clearly more bilingual and associated more frequently with anglophones than the two of Type I, they were just as clearly not as bilingual or bicultural as the three of Type III. They shared the analysis 'Q(A)' in Language Preference and Cultural Heritage. In the other factors, they were analyzed for the most part as predominantly 'Q' though different subjects were rated 'Q(A)' in certain cases. Only Yannick differed from the others in Parent's Cultural Heritage and Perceived Discrimination, though this 'uniformity' of analysis does not adequately reflect the individual responses detailed in 5.2, so necessary to differentiate the individual constructions of identity. For this family, like that of San Antonio, ethnicity is also often defined by what one isn't: in this case, not anglophone.

Two members of the first generation, Pierrette and her husband Claude, were analyzed as Type I, strongly Québécois and clearly unassimilated and

unacculturated to anglophone society. They were also the only two who claimed they were not at least functionally bilingual. Nevertheless, even they indicated that to the degree possible, they would accommodate an anglophone who could not speak French, an astounding point that Keefe and Padilla's scale fails to capture.

Seen across generations, the types indicate only a generally increasing opportunity to learn English and interact with anglophones. As discussed in Chapter Two and elsewhere, Montréal was historically segregated into separate anglophone and francophone spheres. The Type I responses of both Pierrette and Claude of the first generation (and anecdotes of their parents) reflect that fact while Lucille, also of the first generation but Type II, was exposed through her job in sales in the 1970's to the increasing interaction between the groups following the events of the 1960's. Members of the second generation growing up in the 1970's and 1980's were more likely to have studied English in school, not as any attempt at assimilation necessarily but in recognition of the utility of being bilingual in order to get the best jobs. It is interesting too how many of the second generation Type II subjects have elected at various times to live in an allophone neighborhood, perhaps mediating the difference between strictly francophone and strictly anglophone. Two of the second generation, René and Manon, happened to integrate more fully into anglophone social networks and ultimately became Type III, reinforcing at every opportunity, however, their variety of French as an essential marker of identity. In the third generation, as a result of happenstance, Alain was also integrated into anglophone networks while

Yannick remained in a predominantly francophone environment, but both claiming a specific identity as francophones.

It should be noted that a construct of race was not a defining component of identity for most of the subjects in Montréal, unlike those in San Antonio where it was a primary component. As examined in Chapter Two in the historical background of the two cities, "race" has figured prominently in majority-minority relations in Texas while Québec, indeed Canada, was initially "white" Western European with the earliest non-white immigrant groups from Asia; identity has been racialized by these subjects in a rather unmarked way: white privilege is assumed. However, several subjects made comments about changing patterns in race relations, in particular with black francophone immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean. Guy spoke eloquently and at length about the Québécois protecting their jewel, the language, as discussed in section 5.3.2, but he talked also about the muddied ethnic situation in Montréal: it is no longer just French vs. English but francophone vs. all other immigrants and native peoples too. Though Pierrette referred to immigrants and obliquely implied problems of both racial and purely ethnic nature, Manon and Guy explicitly talked about the Canadian Commonwealth coming apart from the west, from British Colombia, due to multi-ethnic pressures.

The only two for whom ethnic identity had been markedly racialized were the two subjects who have lived in the United States. Both René and Alain first answered "white" when asked their ethnicity. During his more than thirteen years in the United States, René has lived and worked in Mississippi and Texas, usually

supervising largely minority (of color) bus drivers and semi-skilled laborers. As a low-level administrator (and union supporter) René reported always feeling the "foreigner" [pronounced -nyer]. As an adult he has had to define himself outside the Montréal speech community to Americans (both majority and minority) with whom he lives, to continental French with whom he works, and to his own countrymen when he visits since he's no longer considered "really Québécois." His accent both in French and in English mark him as an outsider and have certainly influenced his own perception of his skills--he rated himself only 6.5 on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent). Alain, on the other hand, was raised in both cultures (biculturally?) and claimed to have adopted his concept of race at school. While he has experienced some remarks about the variety of French he speaks, as discussed in 5.2.9, he claimed nobody commented on his English.

5.3.2 Language attitudes

Prestige of the Québécois variety of French, derived from improving economic status, has risen, as mentioned by Lucille and Manon and Marc in particular, and has always enjoyed wider functional distribution across domains of use, especially in education and mass media than has been the case of the Texan variety of Spanish in San Antonio. As opposed to historical development in Catalonia examined by Woolard, francophone political power in Québec, already supported by a separate social service system, began rising in the 1960's due to France's powerful recognition of kinship with francophone speakers. This

political power subsequently pulled economic power in tandem until reaching the current situation of growing international strength.

As noted in Chapter Four, Woolard argued that greater economic power is the basis for the assignment of linguistic prestige. She argued that the greater prestige co-varies with political nationalism, and does not depend on it. Both prestige and nationalism depend on the economic strength of the group. Woolard's argument seems to be supported by the data drawn from this family in Montréal that display a marked sense of nationalism and a recognition of the change in the economic power of Canadian French.

Solidarity operates according to a different logic, according to Woolard. Ingroup members are rewarded for loyalty to the group language and penalized for betraying it. However, ingroup members can enhance or reduce solidarity by manipulation of language choice although outgroup members cannot. This could be a critical factor in determining patterns of language acquisition and use in Montréal in general, but this family chooses to enhance solidarity by choosing Canadian French, all the while accommodating English without any loss of face.

Woolard examined the effect of these language attitudes of prestige and solidarity on language behavior in Barcelona and considered their implications for ethnolinguistic problems encountered in other settings. Using her analyses for the data from this study, it is apparent that for this family, in addition to symbolizing group solidarity, the Québécois variety also symbolizes a culture of desirable status. Woolard would explain the lack of codeswitching by the fact that there would be no additional prestigious connotations to motivate a switch to English

for rhetorical effect or to imply affiliation with the outgroup, prestige is derived from ingroup membership. Why would Anglophones and immigrants not learn Québécois in greater numbers if it is increasing in status? Woolard would posit it is because there is no increased social acceptance from Québécois; they have no claim to the identity, though my experience is that francophone outgroup members are more welcome than anglophone outgroup members as long as there are no claims to membership. Language as a marker of solidarity is becoming the new language as a marker of status thanks now to the improved political and economic power of the Québécois as a group.

Guy summed up his view of the current linguistic situation perhaps most eloquently. He explained that the latest trend in legislation is to go along with world-wide economy--the citizens have become "less narrow-minded" now in that they are unwilling to give up the quality of life they now enjoy in Canada and are less likely to see secession as a desirable act of nationalism.

> It's something that's kinda precious for us. We want to protect French language; it's like a jewel for us, like a small treasure we want to protect. And the way for us to protect is to actually declare our independence towards Canada. Québec [francophone phonology] is like a country within a country...it's like a dream that cannot be accomplished. It's the culture we would like to protect...even though we're a part of Canada--it's a very good country, a very efficient country--world-wide.

Interestingly, he drew a [historically erroneous] comparison with Texas Spanish:

> Let's say Texas state wants to keep the English language as the main language of the state, and to avoid any Hispanics from invading and to gain control of the Texas state...through the language at work and in business and in economics and everything.[Hispanics won't have to 'invade'. As discussed in Chapter Two, Texas was originally a part of

> Mexico and the earliest non-indigenous inhabitants spoke Spanish. Even the earliest white settlers learned Spanish] So it's some kind of patriotic thing that we have...it's deep in our roots...but also we want to remain on secure ground. That's why most people are afraid to do the step towards independence.

The rise of an upper class in the Québécois culture, for him, is one explanation of why there is less pressing desire to separate:

> Twenty or thirty years ago, we were repressed...by Canadian anglophone society...Somehow deep inside us we're still insecure about that--we're afraid of losing that tiny piece of us which is the French language and culture that actually some of us, the older ones, I mean thirty years and older, actually still believe that it is possible to gain the independence. [The young] they're more open to the world...there's more culture coming from other countries...like a melting pot so actually you're gonna have 100% pure Québécois [francophone phonology] doesn't really exist anymore. Every culture actually get along well in Montreal region...it's something particularly unique in North America.

Guy as well as Marc cited as an important consideration his contention that a strong anti-assimilation sentiment was already in place between the French and the English before colonization of Canada. This sentiment was heightened by almost two centuries of complete social separation assured by the duplication of all social structures though he admitted that there were some limits to mobility even among educated francophones.

> Twenty or thirty years ago you only had the anglophones and the francophones and there was always some kind of...culture war...We actually accept more the American English culture than we actually accept Canadian anglophone culture.

For Guy now, the French Canadian identity [all Canadian francophone] "slowly being diluted by immigration" has "dissolved" over the years and left only the focused Québécois who continue to push for separation.

For Yannick, the youngest family member interviewed:

> *La langue française au Québec est mieux protégée on dirait qu'en France...En France, ils ont moins peur de perdre leur langue. Ici, certain, c'est une obsession...c'était surtout la peur de se faire assimiler aux Anglais. La langue est devenue un des symboles de la culture: le catholicisme pour plusieurs, t'as aussi la manière de s'exprimer. Tu as certaines idéologies de base qui sont plus à gauche au Québec qu'ils sont dans le reste du Canada. En matières du juridique, ici on est plus porté envers les criminels, pouvoir les réadaptés...ça vient de l'histoire...plus progressiste* (The French language in Québec is better protected one would say than in France...In France, they have less fear of losing their language. Here, for sure, it's an obsession...it's especially the fear of being assimilated to the English. The language has become one of the symbols of the culture: Catholicism for some, you also have the way you express yourself. You have certain basic ideologies that are more leftist in Québec than in the rest of Canada. In judicial matters, here we're more inclined to the criminal, to readapt them. That comes from history...more progressive.)

When pressed about changes in attitudes toward the variety of French spoken in Québec in recent years, Lucille mentioned the increased attention placed on learning to write "*le bon français*" (good French) in school. In her own education, she related, not much emphasis was placed on proficiency in grammatical French, though she said that her mother corrected her speech at home and was adamant that she not use any expression considered "*joual*" (the spoken, very dialectal Québécois of primarily rural areas). Now, she reported, most schools are much more prone to train students extensively in written expression in standard Canadian French.

Perhaps Lucille's comment explains in part why she rated so low her linguistic skills in her first and preferred language. She rated herself 7 on a scale of 1 (not at all fluent) to 10 (completely fluent) while her brother-in-law Claude

rated himself 8; both have limited education, even in French, and might feel less sure of their general abilities when compared to younger, more educated Québécois who've supposedly received more instruction in written Canadian French. Their ambivalence about their abilities in their native language might also be a manifestation of vestiges of lower political and economic status dating from their childhood and youth, pre-1960's. On the other hand, the other member of the first generation, Pierrette, rated her linguistic skills at 9; however, she has had considerably less interaction over her lifetime with anyone outside her immediate social circle and so may have encountered fewer more normative francophones (and certainly fewer anglophones) than her husband and sister, who both worked in sales. Lucille's son René's rating of 6.5 (his self-rating in English was also 6.5) and his son Alain's rating of 8 might better be explained both by their thirteen years' residence in the United States and subsequent bilingualism (Alain claimed his English skills higher-10) as well as their multiple experiences with continental French speakers. The other subjects analyzed as Type II and III had high self-ratings in French, and their ratings in English tended to support their claim to degree of bilingualism.

Only René and Alain seem to be aware of the linguistic differences between the Québécois variety and continental French; one can only assume that the prestige of Québécois has risen enough since the 1960's and the variety as a marker of solidarity reinforce its position as opposed to English and continental French.

5.3.3 Language choice

> ...the study of language choice [and codeswitching] can shed light on the ways in which groups struggle over resources, and on the ways in which individual members of a community contribute to that struggle by creatively and strategically exploiting their linguistic resources in key interactions (Heller 1992: 139).

As outlined in Chapter Four, before beginning the study, I hypothesized, based on personal observation, that many bilingual speakers for whom language choice and codeswitching were options will often accommodate their probable audience, choosing the unmarked language for a particular transaction. I expected to find, however, that the Québécois subjects were more likely to exploit language choice as a political strategy than the Spanish-speaking subjects in San Antonio. I found it doubtful that the Spanish-speakers would be as well-balanced in their bilingualism and would also have greater socio-cultural pressure to accommodate an English-speaking interlocutor than the French-speakers do.

I anticipated that the data of the Montréal would follow two specific lines according to personal experiences with the informants and observations Heller made about constraints on codeswitching (1988, 1992). Those members with limited bilingual abilities would probably be forced to choose French as the language of interaction and to abandon the transaction when the linguistic transaction was too complicated for their limited English skills, whether or not they be willing to accommodate the other speaker. Those who were more balanced bilinguals--whose skills in both languages are adequate--would probably base their choice of language on the environment, on the unmarked choice. However, at least one (and possibly several) of the second or middle generation

studied would likely demonstrate a strong Québécois (separatist or sovereignist) political affiliation by insisting on French in all transactions regardless of environment, except possibly one which takes place in New York. It was my belief that not as many francophones are as intent on making a political statement with their language choice as Heller had implied. The data indicate, however, that though the Québécois subjects did indeed prefer French in all environments when approached by anglophone or francophone service clerks, they would, with a notable exception, not refuse to complete the transaction if English were the only choice. Instead of two specific results there seem to be four distinct patterns of responses.

The two members who have not lived in Quebec for the last ten years answered most closely to what I had expected. Both René and Alain, both Type III, responded that they would use English in the anglophone environment and French in the francophone environment. The use of the unmarked choice in each situation might perhaps be explained by their confidence in their own linguistic abilities in English coupled with the historic separation and duplication of anglophone and francophone geography and institutions. Both indicated that they would respond with the unmarked language choice; but if the only choice given were a marked choice, English in a francophone environment, both would insist on their francophone identity and would walk away from the transaction. I would imagine that their long absence from daily living in Québec could account in part for this most politically motivated stance. As Heller (1988) suggested, one constraint of language choice or codeswitching is to be so sure of one's identity as

legitimized that one insists on one's own language. Both René and his son are very aware of being French-Canadian in the United States, where they have been living, and perhaps feel especially strongly about having this identity affirmed when in Québec. They may also be influenced by the rather American tradition of "The customer is always right." They have become accustomed to being accommodated in the U.S. and would be more likely to insist on also being accommodated in Québec. Francophones living in Québec have for centuries had to accommodate the dominant anglophones so, while they have used language choice to mobilize in the last forty years or so, they are still used to accommodating.

I had anticipated some members of the second generation to be more politically motivated than others in their language choice, but was surprised that all of them, regardless of Type, chose French in all environments. I was especially surprised that all of the first generation were as political as their children, expecting that they would be less likely to exploit the marked choice of French. I was very curious as to why neither Lucille nor her children would consider terminating a transaction that could only take place in English even though almost all claim to be bilingual speakers. I would have thought that that would be the obvious place to exploit one's political power. Lucille explained that this French mobilization through language choice (that Heller noted) is why francophones expect French to be the language in all areas of the city. I asked explicitly why then she (and her children) would not further exploit the power of this language choice by insisting on completing all transactions in French, by

changing restaurants or department stores if service were available only in English. She insisted that that just didn't happen nowadays, that all businesses were required to have bilingual personnel.

When asked again, hypothetically what would she do, she replied that it would be most practical to get the transaction done since she and her children are bilingual anyway and could close the deal in English if need be. Perhaps it is increasingly rare that a store or restaurant not have bilingual personnel, if not to cater to the increasing number of francophone tourists from France. One would imagine though that over two centuries of accommodation to the English might have had some residual carryover in the practicality of everyday life. In addition, most allophone (not francophone or anglophone) immigrants have learned English as they assimilate to Canadian society, primarily since the rest of Canada is anglophone and the nearest neighbor (and often ultimate destination of the immigrants) is the United States. In many low-level service positions the people who happen to come into contact with the public are these newly-assimilated anglophone immigrants who simply cannot respond in French. This situation may be changing however since the prime minister of Québec, Bernard Landry, revitalized the existing laws requiring newly arrived allophone immigrants to learn French.

As Lucille explained the linguistic situation of Québec in her childhood and youth, Montréal was absolutely divided between anglophones and francophones. It just didn't happen that in a francophone environment you would be approached in English or that in an anglophone environment you could

approach in French. According to Lucille, politics in the 1960's had begun changing the linguistic and socio-economic situation in Québec with the term of Prime Minister Lévesque. She also recalled the State visit to Québec by the then president of France Charles de Gaulle, who scandalized both Canadian and French politicians by even visiting the area, much less addressing the citizens in French.

> *Il y avait tellement d'années qu'on était écrasés par les Anglais, on se met tous ensemble pour forcer le français. Il faut préserver le français; c'est notre survie à nous*. (There were so many years that we were crushed by the English, we are banding together to force [the issue] of French [as the legitimate language]. [Our] French [language/culture] must be preserved; it means our survival).

Reportedly, English was absolutely required for any job in management; she told of one of her uncles in a sales force in the 1950's who changed his name from LeBlanc to White in order to be considered for a position. She reported that despite her ability to speak English, in Montréal she would respond in French only to any approach, whether in English or French, regardless of the environment, whether francophone neighborhood or anglophone. The only accommodation of choice reported was to speak English in New York (or Toronto) "*Dans une ville qui ne parle que l'anglais alors nous parlons anglais*" (In a city which speaks only English, we speak English, for her, outside Québec.) However, she reported that she would be unwilling to insist on completing all transactions in French if the interlocutor were unable to speak French well enough. She noted that everyplace in Montréal has bilingual service personnel so that the situation just didn't arise, but she also noted that it would simply be most

practical to complete the transaction in English since she was capable of doing just that.

The other subjects of the first generation, Pierrette and Claude, both Type I, and their son Marc, Type II, on the other hand, would not only insist on French in all Montréal neighborhoods (except Dorval, traditionally anglophone), but they indicated they **would** break off the transaction if French were not a possibility. Even more incredible is that none of these three subjects was willing to discuss their political affiliations, none labeled him/herself "*séparatiste*", yet all insisted they would reinforce the economic and political capital of French by requiring its use.

The responses of the other grandson Yannick, Type II and the youngest interviewed, were not as surprising to me. I hadn't imagined that as a member of the third generation, he would have felt as great a need as the second generation to assert his francophone identity through language choice. To show his linguistic skill in English while still showing his French identity by answering in English but switching to French, as long as the skills of his audience were adequate, seems a confident accommodation on his part. He reportedly accommodated his anglophone audience in an anglophone environment: *"[je parle anglais] lorsqu'on m'adresse en anglais sans être 'snob'*" (when someone speaks to me in English without being a snob). Even so, he also expected French to be used in francophone environments.

5.4 SUMMARY

In Chapter Five, the data from the personal interviews of the subjects in Montréal are presented. Section 5.1 was the introduction to the chapter including the relevant points of Keefe and Padilla's model used both to generate the data and describe the individual subjects, the relevant points of Woolard's examination of language attitude and finally Heller's assessment of the likelihood of those capable, the functionally bilingual subjects, to exploit language choice for political and economic leverage. Section 5.2 was the report of the interview with each subject in Montréal arranged, as well as possible, according to the eight dimensions of Keefe and Padilla and analyzed by type. Section 5.3 was a description of the Montréal family as a whole, contrasting the type, language attitudes and language choice of the individual subjects, the generations, the implications for that family's construction of their identity situated in their speech community. In Chapter Six, I discuss the conclusions reached in a comparison of the larger issues of the two cases, recommendations for future research and limitations to this study.

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

6.1 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One describes why a qualitative comparative case study of two minority ethnicities is important: the models currently used to describe ethnicity have proven too brittle to adequately explain how identity works and how it is related to language. These models have been based on primarily quantitative data that subsume important distinctions in individual and group constructions of identity, and they have been dichotomous in nature, assuming an inevitable assimilation of the minority identity to a majority. Neither the Mexican Americans nor the Québécois have been completely assimilated after centuries of living within an anglophone majority culture (albeit for different reasons), thereby disproving such an assumption; yet, they construct their ethnic identities very differently in relation to that majority culture. A better description of how these two diverse groups see themselves will allow for a more robust model of ethnic identity beyond acculturation/assimilation, which can then be quantified. Critical to the construction of these two particular identities (and many others around the world, though certainly not all) is the question of the relation between a language variety and that identity. Certainly, language choice makes claims on identity, even if the choice is not another language variety but instead another register (RP, for example, or a standard variety as opposed to a regional variety). Many Mexican Americans have seemingly dropped the requirement of a language marker for group membership, though there remains the expectation of its

nominal use, while Québécois have removed all notion of detachability of language from identity: the particular language variety has been made the very symbol of ethnic identity, and it has become the vehicle of change through language planning and policy. The Isleños, a Spanish-speaking community in Louisiana, have been attempting to "re-attach" their variety of Spanish to their identity through language instruction in the community centers; results have been mixed (Coles 1991). Indeed, the possibility of using language choice as a means of valorizing the ethnic identity has been exploited by the Québécois, while one wonders if it is even a viable option for Mexican Americans, many of whom claim limited bilingualism.

Chapter One presents seven questions concerning construction of identity, the link of language to identity, the socio-historical contexts that explain the differences between these two identities, and the possibilities of changing the current contexts, briefly:

1. Do the Québécois subjects of this study configure their identity differently from the Mexican American subjects? If so, how?
2. What is the relationship, if any, between ethnic identity and the ethnic language variety?
3. How far are ethnic members willing to go individually and collectively in exploiting language choice as a political strategy in the mobilization of their group?
4. Is language then a "detachable" component of ethnic identity for these subjects?

5. What accounts for the longevity of the Québécois variety of French and the Texas variety of Spanish?
6. What is the future of Québécois/Texas Spanish?
7. Can and should language planners and policymakers intervene?

The answers to these questions (or directions for future research) have been presented in the preceding chapters and will be summarized here.

Chapter Two outlines the theoretical framework that forms the basis of this study. I discuss models of ethnicity, justifying my choice of Keefe and Padilla's multi-dimensional model over earlier models, though it too was ultimately unable to account for the data I collected. I discuss as well hypotheses about the relation of language attitude to language choice and ethnic identity, particularly as analyzed by Woolard, as showing the interplay of status/overt prestige and solidarity/covert prestige. Third, I introduce Heller's theory of language choice as political act, an option that will be unavailable to most of the San Antonio subjects. In the second half of the chapter, I examine the socio-historical contexts and linguistic characteristics of the two groups studied, Mexican Americans in San Antonio, Texas and Québécois in Montréal, which explain to some large extent the distinct identities these two North American minority groups construct for themselves (or have constructed for them).

In Chapter Three I describe the methodology of this macro-sociolinguistic investigation, including the selection of subjects, the adaptations made to the instrument, the collection of data, and the qualitative methodology used in analysis. The selected sites of the study, San Antonio and Montréal, were cities

founded and peopled primarily by Spanish-speakers and French-speakers, the descendents of those groups being relatively less stigmatized in those cities and fairly well distributed from the lower through the middle economic level. Subjects were recruited through friends and family, and, while they are only one family in the respective speech communities and thus not representative of all members of their respective ethnicities, they are not so different from many other Texas Mexican American or Québécois families in these two cities as described in recent literature.

Keefe and Padilla's quantitative instrument was modified in several ways to allow the subjects to construct their identity with/for me, an out-group member, instead of having to choose between two options offered. The instrument was also adapted to incorporate elicitations essential to the exploration of language attitude, language choice, and politicization of that choice. The format of the data collection was changed from Keefe and Padilla's written questionnaire with some personal interviews to more detailed personal oral interviews.

The Grounded Theory techniques recommended by Strauss and Corbin allowed the data to define the factors that influence the construction of identity. The overarching themes of each case were examined individually and by family in Chapters Four and Five, and they will be compared to each other in Chapter Six to discover the relative importance of components and other details that would be lost in a purely quantitative study.

Chapter Four presents the data from the individual subjects in San Antonio, first as closely corresponding to the Keefe and Padilla 'type' as possible,

then as indicating attitude toward Texas Spanish, and finally as indicating the likelihood of exploiting language choice for political and economic gain. Subjects from the San Antonio family range from a single Type II (Armonda, of the first generation, with arguably the most attachment to Texas Spanish) to two subjects of Type V (Pete, of the second generation, and Alyssa, of the third, claiming practically no attachment to Texas Spanish). While fluency in the Texas variety of Spanish is **not** a requirement for ethnic membership for most of the members of this family, it is certainly important; both in-group and out-group members of the speech community expect some use of Spanish by those who appear to be Hispanic as defined by the community (having dark complexion but not black or of African descent).

Only the two subjects of the first generation, Tony and Armonda, claimed any degree of English-Texas Spanish bilingualism, both overtly expressing positive feelings toward the variety; however, they had not passed on the language to the subsequent generations, most of whom displayed at least some, and sometimes much, ambivalence toward the ethnic variety, preferring to study Standard Spanish, if at all. The identification of the Texas variety of Spanish with a historically less powerful socio-economic group outweighed its covert prestige as a marker of solidarity within the group, at least for the younger generations of this family. The option of politicizing language choice is of course removed if group members have limited linguistic skill in the ethnic variety, but even the two bilinguals Tony and Armonda indicated that they would accommodate English in every situation. For this Mexican American family, their identity is based more

on origin and physical markers of 'race', accompanying strong family and attachments in a Mexican American social network, detaching to varying degrees the component of language.

Chapter Five presents the data from the respondents in Montréal. As opposed to the family in San Antonio, the Québécois family ranges from two Type I subjects (of the first generation) to three Type III subjects (only those who have lived outside of Montréal and its suburbs). Remarkably, however, all subjects identify ethnic language fluency as a key component of their identity, and none has detached the language. Though the variety was historically identified with a less powerful socio-economic group, its covert prestige as a marker of solidarity against the majority prevailed to the point that the group has valorized their identity and its language variety. Interestingly, this particular family does not claim to consistently use language choice to underline the new position of their group, opting instead to accommodate anglophones to some degree in multiple settings. Race has a very different role in how this family constructs their ethnic identity; origin, language and a sense of nationalism are key components.

In this final chapter, I will compare the larger issues of the two case studies concerning construction of identity (section 6.2.1), language attitudes (section 6.2.2) and language choice (section 6.2.3). I will address the seven research questions specifically, and then in section 6.3 discuss the limitations to this study as well as recommendations for future research in the areas of identity and language.

6.2 COMPARISON OF TWO CASE STUDIES

The differences (some subtle and others not so subtle) in the identities of these two minority groups in the face of an anglophone majority, specifically the role of language in those identities, would be lost in a purely quantitative analysis, even if the factors were able to be clearly defined and justified. What the data show is that groups do not necessarily undergo an inexorable linear process of acculturation leading inevitably to assimilation with the majority culture, as was thought earlier. They do not even undergo shift in the various components as Keefe and Padilla described in their model. What the data show instead is that identity is configured differently depending on situation and purpose, its fluidity allows for various constructions and reconstructions for different locations, interlocutors, personal agenda, and political acts. Further, construction of identity is not necessarily a subtractive process at all, though ultimately certain factors (i.e. language, religion) can be replaced or dropped for various ends. Instead, contact with the other culture provides more possible choices in different factors without necessarily losing any factors of the original identity; if anything, it is, or can be, essentially additive. The most bicultural (Type III) can choose to identify (in language, in customs/values, or any other factor) with one culture on one occasion for one purpose and the other culture at another time and/or for another purpose. The data also show that while one may be able to propose generalities in identity based loosely on these Types, each individual constructs his/her own slightly (or even very) differently.

That is not to say that there are no constraints on these claims to identity. The Mexican American family of the study can identify with the Anglo/anglophone majority (or at least dis-identify with certain historical Mexican American traditions) by moving out of the West side, by refusing the language of their heritage and by pursuing higher education; however, they are still identified (by themselves, other in-group members, as well as out-group members) as Mexican Americans by their family name (though not their given names, which are Anglicized), place of family origin, and physical characteristics in the context of San Antonio and Texas more broadly. The members of the Québécois family of the study choose to reinforce their identity, which is no longer terribly traditional (Catholic with large families, rural and/or blue collar) and has no overt marking other than both given and family names, by insisting on the use of French in order to politicize that choice to the point of nationalism. I would note here that I consider myself tri-cultural in many ways, yet I can't claim full membership in either group, not meeting the basic criteria of origin and physical characteristics though I meet the language requirement as well as many others; yet I usually feel very different from other anglophones or Anglos or Texans or Southerners or Americans, groups into which I was born and in which I can claim membership, because of the many choices I can exercise in most of the factors of my identity.

I would answer research question 1, the differences in the construction of identity by these two families, by returning to the overarching themes distilled from the data using the techniques suggested by Strauss and Corbin. The

Mexican American identity of my subjects is marked by strong familism dominating mostly Mexican American social networks; some Mexican American cultural traditions especially those centered on food; perceived discrimination, especially intra-ethnic; use of physical appearance and geography to trigger language choice (where an option); education and upward mobility; and race/ethnicity. The Québécois identity of my subjects is marked by the primary role of language in constructing identity; political change allowing upward mobility while maintaining identity; other requirements of identity such as geography and nationalism; and an identity distinct from English Canadians as well as Continental French. That is not to say that most issues weren't discussed by both families, but that these were the main themes of each. For example, the Québécois family was also marked by strong familism and mostly Québécois social networks (except for non-Québécois spouses!), and the Mexican American family also mentioned a new hybridized identity distinct from anglophone Americans and Mexicans.

However, the dominant characteristic of identity for these subjects, apart from origin for both groups, was race for the Mexican American family and language for the Québécois family. These two very different characteristics are at the core of identity whether it be self-identification or by the majority society. In Montréal one preserves and reinforces identity through language, since language is about all that remains to differentiate the groups anymore (level of education, religion, and social status are now all almost completely irrelevant as markers), but the importance of this distinguishing characteristic was historically motivated

too. In San Antonio, the detachment of language was deemed by this family necessary to acquire the possibility of upward mobility and social prestige (education and money) in spite of skin color and other physical markers, since it is the latter that continues to differentiate the groups so overtly. How ironic that the data from the 2000 U.S. Census are being reported by race **and** Hispanic origin. "Race and Hispanic origin are considered two separate concepts and therefore Hispanics may be of any race or races" (14 March 2003, website: http://eire.census.gov/popest/data/race.php).

6.2.1 Components of identity

SA-I-1-----SA-I-2					M-I-1		M-I-2-----M-I-3		
Tony **III**---*Armonda* **II**					*Lucille* **II**		*Pierrette* **I**--*Claude* **I**		
SA-II-3-----SA-II-4		SA-II-5	SA-II-6		M-II-4	M-II-5	M-II-6	M-II-7	M-II-8
Norma **IV**---*Rick* **IV**		*Pete* **V**	*George* **III**		*René* **III**	*Guy* **II**	*Denis* **II**	*Manon* **III**	*Marc* **II**
SA-III-7	SA-III-8				M-III-9	M-III-10			
Little Rick **III**	*Alyssa* **V**				*Alain* **III**	*Yannick* **II**			

Figure 6.1. Comparison of two cases.

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number
M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number
Most closely corresponding to types I-V on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) multidimensional model of assimilation.

In Chapters Four and Five I looked specifically at each subject and compared their differences (within factors, types, generations, etc.) within their respective family. If examined generally across the two families' identities using the types adapted with difficulty from Keefe and Padilla's model, the Mexican American family would seem very different from the Québécois family, as seen in Figure 6.1 above. As noted, in San Antonio, none of the family was analyzed as

Type I, only one subject (of the first generation) was Type II, one of each generation was considered Type III, two of the second generation were Type IV, and two (one of the second and one of the third generations) were cast as Type V. The change in orientation through the generations is quite marked. In Montréal, all of the family was analyzed as Type I or II, with only those three who had lived outside of Québec scoring as III; none was IV or V. The change in orientation was not so much generational in this family, but instead tied to geography and exposure to anglophone culture. But to see exactly how different these identities are and in what ways, we must try to better define how each of the eight factors differs between the families.

The axis of Ethnic Loyalty was described by Keefe and Padilla as indicating the preference for one cultural orientation and ethnic group rather than another, a very all or nothing analysis, and included language preference, ethnic pride and affiliation, cultural identification, and ethnic social orientation. First, Language Preference was rated by reported language choice in personal and social situations by subject and his/her children; and ethnically marked first names for subject and his/her children. For the Mexican American family, only the first generation (of the family and first generation Americans) claimed sufficient knowledge of Texas Spanish to make such a choice, and their children (and grandchildren) claimed insufficient linguistic skill, expressing varying degrees of remorse. And although Tony and Armonda had the option of choosing either language, they claimed they consistently accommodated both the interlocutor and the geographically unmarked choice. In addition, Tony and

Armonda had the only Spanish given names, their children and grandchildren having names that were either very English (Peter, George, Richard) or at least could be accepted as English (Norma), but even Tony went by 'Tony' and not 'Antonio'. On the other hand, the Québécois family, in all generations, not only had French given names, but specifically Québécois names. And all family members chose Québécois as their first and preferred language (though there were surprising self-assessments of proficiency). However, they indicated that they would accommodate English to a much larger degree than I had anticipated, bilingualism with English being predicted overall by generation and contact with anglophones in a historically separated society.

The factor of Ethnic Pride and Affiliation was defined by Keefe and Padilla as having high or low regard for Mexican culture, preferring or not preferring to associate with Mexicans. Of course, I had adapted this factor for the Québécois interviews to read 'French culture/French,' yet a point of slippage became obvious immediately. None of the subjects of either family knew a great deal about Mexican or French culture nor associated closely with French or Mexican citizens, yet many had knowledge of and made extensive comments about the hybridized culture of their respective regions, Mexican American and Québécois. Their ethnic pride then is in belonging, to some degree, to the local community and culture, which is a hybrid based on the dominant culture and the traditions (and/or language) of an additional culture. These two ethnic groups have been historically isolated socially and geographically in both cities, as noted in Chapter Two, and both families indicated that their social networks outside

their close family ties are predominantly within the group. However, both families had chosen to live outside the geographic enclaves of their respective groups, the San Antonio family moving to the historically anglophone Northside and the Montréal family often choosing allophone neighborhoods. Language again played an important role in the choice of media and stores: except for the two bilingual members, the San Antonio family claimed to prefer anglophone specifically due to reported lack of linguistic skills, while the Montréal family tended to prefer Québécois media and store, except those classified as Type III, particularly when they are in an anglophone region (Toronto or the United States).

The factor of Cultural Identification was defined by Keefe and Padilla as identifying either as Mexican or American, preferring either Mexico or the United States, and preferring to travel in either Mexico or the United States. Again, I had originally modified the questions in my interview to France for the interviews with the subjects from Montréal, but shifted again in both sets of interviews to the regional culture as opposed to that of the nations of ancestry. Most discussions ultimately centered around the choice of labels, which for many earlier researchers covertly indicated orientation to one culture over the other. The subjects from the Montréal family (even and especially the ones who have lived/are living outside the area) identified themselves as 'Québécois', though there was discussion about what this label entailed, how it had changed (or not) historically, how it was differentiated from '*Canadien français*', etc. The members of the San Antonio family were varied in their motivations for choosing

one label over another. Both Tony and Armonda insisted that 'American of Mexican ethnicity' best reflected how they saw themselves. The others claimed their ethnicity as 'Hispanic', the term used for years in census data and official forms and the solution to the color/race issue ("you're not white, you're not black, and you're not Asian, you're Hispanic.") 'Hispanic Mexican' was a more accurate indication of origin for Rick, who also stated that the term 'Mexican American' is a splintering of the American identity--"either you're American or you're not." For George, there was a historical evolution of label: "In the 70's you would have been 'Chicano', in the 80's...'Hispanic', and now you're 'Latino'." All Mexican American subjects indicated that either they had thought about those labels before, or that this study had brought the issue up for reconsideration.

The Ethnic Social Orientation, defined as preferences in association and food, remained, for the most part, within their respective groups for both of these families. Food is generally accepted as a dominant and long-lasting feature of a culture, so the overwhelming attachment on the part of almost every member of these families to their respective ethnic food traditions was not remarkable. As far as associations go, both subject groups were marked by very strong familism. In the San Antonio family, only Peter of the second generation and Little Rick and Alyssa of the third generation reported any degree of association outside a predominantly Mexican American network. For Peter, this was a result of the ethnic make-up of his colleagues at work; for the youngest subjects, it was primarily because of the diminishing separation between ethnic groups at school

resulting in more interaction across group lines, and surely because of continuing Anglo predominance in the part of town they lived in. The only members of the Québécois family that had any associations outside the group were the ones who interacted most with anglophones, either because of their job (Guy and Manon) or because of their living situation (Manon, René, and Alain). Remarkably, however, most of the second and third generations had non-Québécois (though in most cases francophone) spouses and partners. None of the Mexican American family had married outside the group, though the spouses varied in Spanish proficiency.

Keefe and Padilla's axis of Cultural Awareness "refers to an individual's knowledge of cultural traits (for example, language, history, culture heroes) of the traditional and host cultures" (p. 46), and included factors relating to the respondent's cultural heritage, the spouse's cultural heritage and ethnic pride, the parents' cultural heritage and ethnic pride, and perceived discrimination. Again, as noted, the alternation of cultures in question was modified to be Mexican American vs. American anglophone/Anglo and francophone Québécois vs. Canadian anglophone with no attachment to race.

The Cultural Heritage of the Respondent, Spouse, and Parent, according to Keefe and Padilla, referred to knowledge of one language but not the other, language of media, language of first name, culture of peers in childhood and/or adolescence, place of birth, language of schooling, knowledge of cultural symbols and events, travel. In the San Antonio subjects, these factors varied widely with attachment to Mexican (and Mexican American) culture (including language)

lessening with each generation while interaction with the anglophone culture generally increases with each. Significantly different from the Québécois family who were all educated in French (except for Alain) with very little formal instruction in English, all the Mexican American subjects were educated in English, very few having had any formal schooling whatsoever in any variety of Spanish. In the Montréal subjects, the francophone cultural heritage of the subject and parent remained remarkably consistent across the three generations, but, as noted, the spouses of the second and third generations were almost all outside the group.

Perceived Discrimination, both group and personal, was another factor that was interpreted quite differently by the two groups. In San Antonio, discrimination was seen as racially motivated. I would prefer to call it 'racial distinction' based on physical characteristics such as skin and hair color. These overt markers used by in-group members and out-group alike trigger language use and intra-ethnic slurs (such as 'coconut' for those somehow marked as Mexican American who don't speak Spanish). Though the family recounts few examples of personal discrimination (with the exception of Rick) and they discount institutional or wholesale systemic discrimination, they admit that physical appearance counts, for them and for others. There is only rare and recent overt discrimination based solely on physical characteristics reported in Québécois; however, all Montréal subjects acknowledged discrimination based on linguistic markers such as accent and cultural markers such as family/given names, religions, family size, education/professional level and preferences in food and

music. Only for the two Québécois subjects living in Texas was ethnic identity and discrimination racialized.

6.2.2 Language attitudes

To compare the attitudes, both overtly and covertly expressed, of the two groups toward their respective ethnic language varieties, I revisit Woolard's general questions: Why are some people able to retain a minority language while other groups lose theirs? Why are some groups slower and less successful in acquiring a majority language? Sometimes, attitude toward a language or variety results from historical associations, as is the case with both families, though the association is overwhelmingly positive in the case of Québécois and overwhelmingly not in the case of Texas Spanish. The ambivalence Mexican Americans seem to feel about their variety is not only induced by the low status assigned to this particular variety of Spanish both by native speakers and by other Spanish- and English-speakers alike (the 2nd and 3rd generations mentioned repeatedly the need of formal study to learn "good/correct Spanish"); but it is also, quite understandably, induced by imbalanced bilingualism due to the lack of opportunities for education in the language. In addition, Solé (1995), among many others, indicates that typically, the second and third generations of former immigrants drop the heritage language only to have the third and fourth generations try to recoup it. This seems to be the pattern for most of the Mexican Americans of my study (though Alyssa does not seem to be so inclined). The Québécois have historically had the opportunity to be educated in French from nursery school through the Ph.D level and have a recognized standard, "Canadian

Broadcast" French, that is respected and acknowledged as distinct from Continental French (much as American English is distinguished from British English). The surprise of Lucille's low self-assessment is most likely the result of her own perception of her limited opportunities for education (particularly in relation to my own, her interlocutor).

Lodge (1993) reinforced the assertion by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) that the French community in Canada, centered in Montréal, has a 'highly focused community' promoted by (a) tight social networks within the group; (b) an external threat leading to a sense of common cause; (c) a powerful model in a strong leader or prestige group. One could argue that Mexican Americans in San Antonio also have tight social networks, and that a few group members might perceive English and American culture as an external threat leading to sense of common cause. In the case of my subject family, however, the prestige group is English and American culture, there is no strong leader that carries all factors of the traditional Mexican American identity. English and white American (Anglo) culture is perhaps not perceived as great a threat because the fluidity of the construction of identity allows Mexican Americans to retain certain factors of their traditional identity (food, familism, Catholicism) while jettisoning those that hold them back (Spanish, low aspirations in education and employment). After all, their identity is overtly marked and not called into question except by (low prestige) members of their own group.

The two aspects of focusing--social and linguistic--distinguish communities or groups along the two dimensions. Those with a separate

linguistic code but including a wide variety of individuals are linguistically focused but socially diffuse, as in the creoles of the Cayo District of Belize (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985:217). Those with a strong social identity but a language variety not perceived as a part of that identity might be considered socially focused but linguistically diffuse, as is often the case with Mexican Americans. Francophone Canadians, on the other hand, were historically separated in language, geography and society, and so might still be considered focused both linguistically and socially. The lack of focus in their identity that so marks Mexican Americans that there is not a label acceptable to the group at large is evidently starting to affect the young Québécois, though to a much lesser degree. Guy indicated that there is currently a redefinition of who can call themselves Québécois, and how essential a separatist sentiment is to the identity. Manon referred obliquely to a Québécois culture defined as 'not anglophone Canadian but not really French anymore. She also remarked [erroneously] that, unlike Québécois, Mexican Americans didn't really have "*un territoire"* to which they could attach their identity [as discussed in Chapter Two, the original Texicans did own what is now Texas, but the Anglos took it away]. Certainly, the different historical contexts of these regions contribute to the diffuseness of identity. Complicating factors include a continuing influx of new immigrants from Mexico, a continued interchange with family members still in Mexico, a "lumping together" by out-group members (particularly by the Anglo majority, as mentioned by Foley) of all Spanish-speaking immigrants from diverse geographical areas (both newly arrived as well as those completely assimilated

after generations in the U.S.), as well as the role African Americans played in racializing Texas (also mentioned by Foley). Villa (2000) described U.S. Spanish (which presumably would include Texas Spanish) as "a pluricentric language, with multiple centers emanating and radiating norms..." (p. 151). Québécois, on the other hand, see themselves and are seen by all others as a relatively homogeneous group, distinct from English and Continental French alike. The main differentiation for them is "politicized or not," though there is new attention turning to race with the influx of black francophone immigrants and other ethnic allophones.

To further account for research questions 2 and 3 we turn to Le Page's orientation toward language and identity, which rests on the theory that an individual's linguistic choices are acts of identity. Individuals modify their linguistic behavior in order to be like the group or groups with which they wish to identify and to be unlike the groups with which they do not wish to identify. The Québécois family of my study choose all aspects of their now valorized identity, including insisting on the use of the ethnic language variety. The Mexican American family members do not feel they can afford to identify wholly with traditional cultural values and so use English to be more like the group whose values they need to adopt to move ahead economically. [My question remains, Why does it have to be one language at the expense of the other? Is this something about American culture? Granted, education in Spanish is not, and historically hasn't been, a viable option in San Antonio, but if it were, would that change how the language was valued? I return to this point in 6.3]

Le Page conceived of four constraints or riders on an individual's linguistic choice. 1) The individual's ability to identify the groups with which s/he wishes to identify. Mexican Americans remain overtly marked and, unfortunately, are not usually accepted as full and rightful members of white American, particularly Texan, society. 2) His/her access to these groups and ability to analyze their linguistic behavior. Mexican Americans now have fairly free access to these groups, but historically were quite isolated into social and/or geographic enclaves. 3) The individual's motivation (positive or negative) to identify with these groups, influenced primarily by feedback from them. As noted, Mexican Americans often dis-identify with certain factors of a historic identity while identifying with the most empowering traits of mainstream culture, though they are subject to acts of discrimination and prejudice by both groups. 4) The individual's ability to modify his/her linguistic behavior. Because of education in English, Mexican Americans now have access to the more powerful linguistic code (though researchers argue in different ways than children from highly literate and educated majority households). Because of the lack of education in Spanish, particularly in the Texas variety of Spanish, Mexican Americans do not have access to formal models of their heritage language.

Johnstone (1996) goes beyond Le Page's model of linguistic behavior as acts of identity arguing that linguistic variation is explicable only at the level of the individual speaker. The speaker's agency in using language to express identity is certainly constrained if he/she lacks access to more than one linguistic code, as is the case with the Mexican American family of my study, which meets

the need she saw for detailed case studies of individual speakers to complement studies of larger groups or speech communities. The variation in "detachability" of the heritage language found between these two speech communities is indicative of the complex nature of ethnic identity, its relation to language, and ambivalence some members but not others feel about that identity in relation to the majority society. In response to research question 4: None of the Mexican American subjects required language for inclusion--that degree of assimilation was consciously undertaken in the move, both physical and figurative, from the Westside to the Northside to assure access to education and upward mobility. The situations in Québec and Catalonia have been studied extensively in order to analyze how ethnic identity can be reinforced, politicized and validated to force change in the socio-economic and -political status quo. The Québécois and the Catalans have effected this change by removing any notion of detachability.

Research question 5 asks what accounts then for the longevity of the Québécois variety of French and the Texas variety of Spanish. For Québécois, it has been both the access to education in French and the focus of identity in the language. For Texas Spanish, in the beginning, it was the long social and physical enclavement and patterns of segregation relating to habitation and educational and work possibilities. Though this isolation has eased in the last few decades, there is still no access to systematic education in Spanish; yet the language persists, most likely due to sheer numbers of Spanish-speakers (mostly new immigrants), proximity to Mexico, and, increasingly, recognition of the

growing economic importance of a 'minority' that will soon outnumber the 'majority' in Texas and other states.

6.2.3 Language choice

Given Heller's hypothesis that "...the study of language choice [and codeswitching] can shed light on the ways in which groups struggle over resources, and on the ways in which individual members of a community contribute to that struggle by creatively and strategically exploiting their linguistic resources in key interactions" (p. 139), I had expected to find that the Québécois subjects would be more likely to exploit language choice as a political strategy than the Spanish-speaking subjects. My doubts that these Spanish-speakers would be as well-balanced in their bilingualism, and my convictions that they have greater socio-cultural pressure to accommodate an English-speaking interlocutor than the Québécois do were borne out, as noted in Chapters Four and Five.

It seems indeed that the three generations of the family of the study followed fairly closely the theory that Heller put forth in her article (1992). These francophones chose to reinforce the new value of their ethnicity by choosing French in all transactions, regardless of environment. By accessing this symbolic power, succeeding generations of Québécois have access to the material capital once controlled by the anglophone community. The members of this family who live in Québec don't happen to exploit this political clout to its fullest; they will not leave a transaction simply because it cannot be completed in French. It seems to me that the cause would be better served by pressing the economic issue.

Perhaps this is a particularly American view since it is shared by the two family members who have spent the last years in the United States.

Most of the Mexican American family of this study did not have the linguistic skills in Spanish necessary to make language choice an option. Of the two who did, Tony and Armonda of the first generation, they indicated that they would accommodate English speakers under any and all circumstances, choosing not to exploit language as a political strategy to mobilize their group. However, the increasing economic power of Mexican Americans, due to sheer numbers, has precipitated an increase in the study of Spanish by non-heritage speakers and an increase in the domains and frequency of use of Spanish, i.e. advertising.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Several limitations to this comparative case study prevent gross generalizations about identity and its relation to language. Of primary consideration is the effect of language choice on both the quantity and orientation of data collected. In previous studies of bilinguals, cited in particular by Ervin-Tripp (1973) in her studies using Thematic Apperception Tests, language choice triggers particular thought worlds with embedded values. The effect of language choice on content may be in part expressed as differences in values in the two cultures; "...such a bilingual, in becoming competent in two cultures, learns to associate particular kinds of content with each language" (p. 67). Completion of the sentence 'What I want most in life is...' for the traditional Japanese women of her study might read 'peace', whereas for the American women of the study might be 'happiness.' Bentahila (1983) observed in his psycholinguistic study of

Arabic-French bilinguals that "It seems then that the same bilingual may be able to adopt two rather different views of the world" (p.48). His subjects gave very different responses to the sentence 'One needs a good job to..."; French: 'to live happily.' Arabic: 'to be able to spend one's last days praying in the mosque.' In both cases of my study, the language used was the subjects' choice. It is not unlikely that this choice influenced not only the length of the responses but also the things that were discussed. Yet, I point out again, the subjects 'perform' the identity they think a sympathetic out-group member expects. The Mexican American family responded exclusively in English, signed the English version of the consent form and did not code-switch, English being the unmarked choice with an out-group member; I have no direct evidence, however, (beyond their self-report) of the subjects' language proficiency, and no Spanish data to compare for either quantity or content. On the other hand, I do have both English and French data from the Québécois family, though not usually both languages from all members from these interviews, as well as many years of observation and interaction. The data as well as my interpretation of them have undoubtedly been affected by these very different language choices and relationships.

Since identity is constructed as such for different ends, it is very sensitive to its context, not only in the history of the city or region, but also in the speech community, as well as in its relation to social structure, i.e., the family, (descriptions of the different histories and speech communities detailed in Chapter Two). While the subjects of these two families are held as representative of types, the issue is how typical are these types within their respective

communities. Another difference in the families makes them not directly comparable. The Mexican American family studied still has ties to family members in Mexico, and the first generation of the family is also the first generation born and raised in Texas. The Québécois family, on the other hand, has lived in Canada since the 1600's and has no direct family ties to France. This certainly may account for Tony and Armonda's close identification with Mexican (as well as Mexican American) culture while none of the Montréal family feels any particular kinship with Continental French culture.

Second, the different relationships I have with the families likely influences both the quality and quantity of data I was able to elicit. The fact that the subjects of the San Antonio family were friends of friends in my home state while the subjects of the Montréal family were ex-in-laws living in another country may have also influenced my analyses and as well as assumptions I may have made based on my unconscious knowledge or lack thereof.

The fact that I am, by any and all accounts, an out-group member also undoubtedly had an effect. While I can and often do 'pass' for Québécois when visiting Montréal, I can make no claim to membership based on origin or on my academic (though increasingly Québécois-influenced French), and I am no longer an official member of the family since my divorce in 1993. I cannot and do not 'pass' for Mexican American, not because I don't speak the ethnic variety of the language, because I do, but because I can't claim the origin and I don't have the expected physical markers. As a matter of fact, though I interact exclusively in Spanish, I am unable to elicit responses in Spanish.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study builds on pilot projects and other research on these two groups that I have already presented at conferences and have published. It has provided me with a rich body of quantitative data as well as allowed me to fine-tune interview questions and analytical methods required for future larger-scale qualitative and eventual quantitative projects. It has given me experience in planning sociolinguistic/ethnographic studies of this type, and will serve as my entrée into communities to which I am an outsider.

The potential benefits to the particular families studied are minimal, except that knowing there is interest in their community might be affirming to some group members. Some subjects indicated interest in the discussion of language choice as ethnic marker; more politically motivated members felt s/he has gained insight on how language choice might be exploited to the community's advantage. I indicated in Chapter Four how this study had had a conscious-raising effect on the Mexican American family in terms of language use and issues of identity.

These data might be useful to educators and sociologists who deal with underachievement in minority education and other social problems that are often said to be rooted in conflicts of self-image. Such information might find application in second language learning and in English as a Second Language where the orientation might become more integrative, that is where the student is to learn more about the other cultural community (including its language) as a potential member of the other group. The curriculum for Spanish for Native

Speakers classes might be redesigned to be more relevant, productive and affirming for native Texas Spanish-speakers instead of serving merely as a bridge for ESL students and often an attempt at "normalization," by which I mean correction to Standard Spanish, of the variety of Spanish which has been spoken in Texas for generations.

I would hope that the results of this study would be of interest to those in the fields of linguistics, sociology and anthropology. Not only should the data give information on the construction of identity and language practices of two families today in very different contexts, but viewed across the three generations, should indicate change over time. Much research has concentrated on the dynamics of language as a marker of an identity within a majority society, but there is little current information on language attitudes among bilingual Texans while much research about attitudes among Québécois dates from the 1960's. In addition, cross-cultural comparisons of this type are not common and yet go far in providing data with which to construct more precise models of ethnicity.

In future research I intend to study more families in these speech communities of San Antonio and Montréal in order to evaluate the typicality of these subjects, as well as Mexican American Texan and Québécois familiesof other speech communities. I intend to examine in more detail and in other populations the racialization of the notion of ethnicity. It was striking to me that all of the Mexican Americans in the study automatically discussed race while only the two Québécois living in Texas did so overtly. I was also struck by the difficulty I personally had when modifying the questionnaire to minimize

slippage of terms inherent in Keefe and Padilla's model: Mexican/Mexican American, French/Québécois, Anglo/anglophone.

I also intend to explore the possible revalorization of the Texas variety of Spanish, particularly in view of models of language maintenance and language death. The reattachment of the ethnic language variety to the Isleño identity has not been particularly successful for various reasons that may or may not hold for Mexican Americans, an already sizable and rapidly growing population in Texas (and the Southwest) who will be deciding individually and collectively the course of their identity. Many issues surface, not the least of which is, given a relatively stable base of Spanish-speakers (either immigrants or formally trained), will any variety of Spanish be re-attached to the identity? What variety would that be, as Texas Spanish is a spoken variety with a very limited (but growing) literary body? What advantage is there in dividing the power of sheer numbers of Hispanics into individual origin (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Cuban, etc.)?

The future of the Québécois language (also research question 6) does not appear to be so imperiled. Even with the moderation of secessionist fervor (due to diffuseness of identity or weakening global economics?), it is doubtful that Québécois will allow any real legislative threat to their language, though many decry the influence of American English on the language and the culture.

Research question 7 asked whether language planners and policymakers could or should intervene. In this era of language legislation around the world and the English-only movement in the United States, language planners will be

interested in the results of this study. Since the data indicate some of the 'how' and 'why' identity is constructed differently in these two North American minority groups, this research will provide important input allowing an additive multi-component model of identity. A more accurate model can be better quantified in future studies to inform such legislation. Certainly the position of the Québécois people has changed with the valorization of their language variety by language legislation.

I would like to identify how many factors and which ones can be taken on from another culture without compromising one's heritage identity. Are any and all factors detachable, or just language and religion? Are any weighted more heavily than others? How is any compromise to one's claims to identity determined? And by what--external/visible markers? And by whom--in-group or out-group? How many factors of the new culture do you have to take on to be considered a member, or are there always constraints? Does distance from one's heritage in time or geography or values lessen these constraints? What if a powerful majority is no longer the majority but is still powerful? The same issues came up in 2000 Census about race with so many people checking mixed race boxes. How does one differentially weight different so-called racial characteristics? The one-drop rule of the past? How much of the Anglo/American identity am I personally willing to claim and can I deny? Doesn't one always choose how to present oneself within certain constraints--i.e. I don't want to claim affiliation with conservatives, or conservative Christians, or

Bush supporters though I wouldn't be willing or able to deny that I'm both Christian and from the Bible Belt of Texas.

Finally, I intend to continue to use the methodology of this study, the Grounded Theory of Strauss and Corbin, which has not yet figured prominently in linguistic analyses. It was most useful in capturing details in this study of the sociology of language and should prove to be in more sociological analyses of language use.

Appendix 1. Interview Guide

Personal information
age
sex
birthplace
length of residence in San Antonio/Montréal
occupation--length of time
preferred occupation in future
native language(s)
first language(s)
language at home, at work
Do you consider yourself bilingual? Fully?
ethnicity
Political affiliation

Adaptation of Keefe and Padilla's written self-report questionnaire (1987) with sample open-ended questions
Language fluency, use, preference of subject
How would you rate your own ability to speak/understand/read/write English/French/Spanish?
Do you ever mix languages or hear them mixed?
Specifically when do you use each language? In which situations, what percentage of time?
What language is used for family gatherings, with friends?
How would you *prefer* to use each language?
etc.
Language fluency, use, preference of parents
Language fluency, use, preference of spouse

Cultural heritage and ethnic pride of subject
What is your legal first name and what name do you go by?
How many years of formal schooling--in what language?
Why did you choose to study English/French/Spanish?
Were your classmates and friends mostly of English or Mexican/French descent?
Who was Selena/is Céline Dion? Is she a "good" symbol of the culture?
Is May 5/June 24 an important holiday for you?
Do you prefer to eat white bread or tortillas/mashed potatoes or poutine?
Did your daughters have a quinceañera? Did your children have a first communion? Were they baptized in your church?

etc.
Cultural heritage and ethnic pride of parents
Cultural heritage and ethnic pride of spouse

Cultural identification
What do you call yourself? 10 years ago? as a child? among other like? by Mexicans/French? by other hispano/francophones? by anglos in US/Canada? by other anglophones elsewhere?
etc.
Social orientation
Of what descent are most of your friends/neighbors/people where you go to have fun?
What church do you go to?
Which clubs/social groups do you belong to?
etc.

Perceived discrimination
Do you believe it is difficult to get a job/promotion/housing/loans if you are of Mexicn/French descent? Has it happened to you?
Do the police treat people of Mexican/French descent the same as people of English descent?
etc.
Language choice as political strategy based on Heller (1992)
If you were in a predominantly Mexican/French part of town, which language would you use if the waiter approached you in English?
If you were in an anglophone part of town, which language would you use if the waiter approached you in English
Would you insist on French/Spanish if the waiter was also of Mexican/French descent?
etc.

additional questions
What is the difference between a "Québécois" and a "Canadien français" / "Latino" and "Chicano" and "Hispano" and Mexican American?
Do you have to speak Fr/Sp to be considered Qué/Hisp(MexAm, Latino)? How well? Why do you think so?
If you were asked your political affiliation, what would it be (or why would you not want to declare it)?
Do you remember anyone (esp older) discussing language choice or ethnic labels explicitly?

Have you noticed any changes in your attitude or in the general attitude in San Antonio/Montreal about the Spanish/French spoken here?
What did your teacher (parents) say about the kind of Spanish/French you spoke?
Why, would you imagine, am I asking these kinds of questions?
Do you find this information interesting or important? What could it be used for?
What do you see happening in the near future (with Bush/Perry)? Later?
Hopes/fears?
import

Appendix 2. English consent form--San Antonio

LANGUAGE USE OF BILINGUAL SPANISH-ENGLISH SPEAKERS OF MEXICAN ORIGIN IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

You are invited to participate in a study of language use of bilingual Spanish-English speakers of Mexican origin in San Antonio, Texas. My name is Karen CODY, and I am both a graduate student and on the teaching staff of the University of Texas at Austin, Department of French and Italian and Department of Spanish and Portuguese. I am undertaking this project for my doctoral dissertation. With this particular study I hope to learn how bilingual speakers in San Antonio use the two languages they speak. You were selected as a possible participant because of your status as a bilingual member of a family of Mexican origin of at least three generations born in San Antonio. You are one of 13 family members chosen to participate in this half of the study; there is another bilingual family of French origin of at least three generations born in Montréal also participating.

If you agree to participate, I will ask you certain questions about which language you use when you talk about yourself or talk with other members of your family, your friends, your workplace. You will be asked to evaluate your language skills and those of your parents and spouse. Other questions will be about daily life: which TV programs or movies you watch and newpapers you read, the foods your family eats, the way you celebrate holidays. You'll be asked about your cultural history and experiences. You will also be asked which language you would choose to use in various situations like dining out in a restaurant or asking directions or buying a car. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. I will be especially interested in any stories you have to tell about learning or using both Spanish and English. I will be recording our discussion but again there are no right or wrong answers and you are not obligated to answer every question.

Your name will not be directly linked to any information we discuss; instead you will be assigned a letter of the alphabet and a number as your only identification. Any data linking your name to the letter and number and all audiotapes will remain securely locked in my possession and will not be shared with anyone under any circumstance. They will be destroyed in the event of my death. In this way I can insure the confidentiality of your responses.

There are no known risks associated with this study. The time necessary for your participation should be no more than one hour, probably less. I hope that the benefits of this study include documentation of how bilingual speakers in San

Antonio use English and Spanish in their daily lives. San Antonio is a city in which both languages have been historically significant. I hope that this research will acquaint readers with the rich cultural and linguistic traditions found here.

All information that is obtained from you in connection with this study will remain confidential. As noted above, letters and numbers will be used to disguise the identity of participants to protect the privacy of all parties involved.

Your decision about whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your future relations with the University of Texas at Austin in any way. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw from the study after signing this form at any time, should you so choose.

If you have any questions at any time, please ask me. If you have any additional questions later, I will be happy to answer them. My address is Karen CODY, 3355-D Lake Austin Blvd., Austin, TX 78703; my telephone number is (512) 474-1121. My e-mail address is *kcody@mail.utexas.edu*. You may also contact my faculty sponsors, Professor Carl BLYTH at (512) 471-5531 and at *cblyth@mail.utexas.edu* or Professor Keith WALTERS at (512) 232-7682 and at *kwalters@mail.utexas.edu*.

I will give you two copies of this form. Please keep one for your records and sign and return the other one to me if you agree to participate in this study. Thank you for your assistance.

(signature of participant) (name printed in block letters) (date)

(signature of investigator) (date)

Appendix 3. English consent form--Montréal

LANGUAGE USE OF BILINGUAL QUEBECOIS-ENGLISH SPEAKERS IN MONTREAL, QUEBEC

You are invited to participate in a study of language use of bilingual Québécois-English speakers in Montréal, Québec. My name is Karen CODY, and I am both a graduate student and on the teaching staff of the University of Texas at Austin, Department of French and Italian and Department of Spanish and Portuguese. I am undertaking this project for my doctoral dissertation. With this particular study I hope to learn how bilingual speakers in Montréal use the two languages they speak. You were selected as a possible participant because of your status as a bilingual member of a family of French origin of at least three generations born in Montréal. You are one of 13 family members chosen to participate in this half of the study; there is another bilingual family of Mexican origin of at least three generations born in San Antonio also participating.

If you agree to participate, I will ask you certain questions about which language you use when you talk about yourself or talk with other members of your family, your friends, your workplace. You will be asked to evaluate your language skills and those of your parents and spouse. Other questions will be about daily life: which TV programs or movies you watch and newpapers you read, the foods your family eats, the way you celebrate holidays. You'll be asked about your cultural history and experiences. You will also be asked which language you would choose to use in various situations like dining out in a restaurant or asking directions or buying a car. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. I will be especially interested in any stories you have to tell about learning or using both French and English. I will be recording our discussion but again there are no right or wrong answers, and you are not obligated to answer every question.

Your name will not be directly linked to any information we discuss; instead you will be assigned a letter of the alphabet and a number as your only identification. Any data linking your name to the letter and number and all audiotapes will remain in my possession and will not be shared with anyone under any circumstance. In this way I can insure the confidentiality of your responses.

There are no known risks associated with this study. The time necessary for your participation should be no more than one hour, probably less. I hope that the benefits of this study include documentation of how bilingual speakers in Montréal use English and French in their daily lives. Montréal is a city where both languages have been historically significant. I hope that this research will acquaint readers with the rich traditions found here.

All information that is obtained from you in connection with this study will remain confidential. As noted above, letters and numbers will be used to disguise the identity of participants to protect the privacy of all parties involved.

Your decision about whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your future relations with the University of Texas at Austin in any way. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw from the study after signing this form at any time, should you so choose.

If you have any questions at any time, please ask me. If you have any additional questions later, I will be happy to answer them. My address is Karen CODY, 3355-D Lake Austin Blvd, Austin, TX 78703; my telephone number is (512) 474-1121. My e-mail address is *kcody@mail.utexas.edu*. You may also contact my faculty sponsors, Professor Carl BLYTH at (512) 471-5531 and at *cblyth@mail.utexas.edu* or Professor Keith WALTERS at (512) 232-7682 and at *kwalters@mail.utexas.edu*..

I will give you two copies of this form. Please keep one for your records and sign and return the other one to me if you agree to participate in this study. Thank you for your assistance.

(signature of participant) (name printed in block letters) (date)

_____ _____

(signature of investigator) (date)

Appendix 4. Spanish consent form

FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO

USO DEL LENGUAJE ESPANOL-INGLES ENTRE LAS PERSONAS BILINGUES DE ORIGEN MEXICANO EN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

Usted ha sido invitado(a) a participar en un estudio del uso de los idiomas español-inglés entre las personas bilingües de origen mexicano en San Antonio, Texas. Mi nombre es Karen CODY, y soy estudiante de doctorado e instructora en la Universidad de Texas en Austin en el Departamento de Francés e Italiano y en el Departamento de Español y Portugués. Este estudio es parte de mi tesis doctoral. Busco entender como emplean las personas bilingües de San Antonio las dos lenguas que hablan. Usted fue seleccionado(a) como un(a) posible participante porque usted es miembro de una familia de origen mexicano de tres generaciones nacidas en San Antonio. Usted es uno(a) de 13 personas seleccionadas en esta mitad del estudio; participa también otra familia bilingüe (francés-inglés) de Montreal, Canada.

Si usted decide participar, yo le entrevistaré. Durante la entrevista, le preguntaré sobre la lengua que usted usa para hablar con su familia, sus amigos y sus compañeros de trabajo. Le pediré evaluar su fluidez en las dos lenguas y la fluidez de sus padres y de su esposo(a). Hay otras preguntas sobre su vida cotidiana: los programas de televisión y las películas que mira y los periódicos que lee, la comida que come su familia, las fiestas que celebra, su historia cultural y sus experiencias personales. También presentaré ciertas situaciones en las cuales usted me dirá su lenguaje preferido. No hay respuestas "correctas" ni "incorrectas" para estas preguntas. Lo que más me interesa es su experiencia personal aprendiendo y usando las dos lenguas en San Antonio. La entrevista será grabada en cinta auditiva pero repito que no hay "buenas" respuestas y se puede omitir cualquiera respuesta.

Su nombre no estará ligado directament a ninguna información obtenida en la entrevista; la sola identificación será una letra del alfabeto con un número. La relación entre su nombre y su código letra/número será mantenida completamente confidencial y en mi posesión, y no será revelada en ninguna circunstancia sin su autorización. En esta manera, puedo asegurarle la confidencialidad de sus respuestas.

No hay riesgos para usted en este estudio. El tiempo necesario para completar la entrevista no pasaría de una hora, y probablemente durará menos. Su participación es importante: en esta ciudad el uso de los dos idiomas ha sido historicamente muy importante, por eso deseo documentarla.

Su decisión de participar o de no participar en este estudio no afectará en ninguna manera sus futuras relaciones con la Universidad de Texas en Austin. Si decide participar, podrá descontinuar su participación en cualquier momento después de firmar esta forma.

Si tiene alguna pregunta, puede comunicarse conmigo o con mis profesores. Mi dirección es Karen CODY, 3355-D Lake Austin Blvd, Austin, TX 78703; mi número de teléfono es (512) 474-1121; mi dirección electrónica (e-mail) es *kcody@mail.utexas.edu*. Mis supervisores son Professor Carl BLYTH, (512) 471-5531, *cblyth@mail.utexas.edu* y Professor Keith WALTERS, (512) 232-7682, *kwalters@mail.utexas.edu*.

Usted recibirá dos copías de esta forma de consentimiento. Favor de firmar y enviar una (la otra puede quedársela) si está de acuerdo en participar en este estudio. Muchas gracias por su ayuda.

(firma del/de la participante) (nombre imprimado) (fecha)

_____ _____

(firma de la investigadora) (fecha)

Appendix 5. French consent form

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT
L'EMPLOI DES LANGUES QUEBECOISE-ANGLAISE CHEZ LES BILINGUES A MONTREAL, QUEBEC

Vous êtes invité(e) à participer dans un enquête sur l'emploi des langues chez les bilingues d'origine française à Montréal, Québec. Je m'appelle Karen CODY, et je suis étudiante en doctorat et enseignante à l'Université du Texas à Austin dans le Département de Français et Italien et dans le Département d'Espagnol et Portuguais. Je fais cet enquête pour ma thèse doctorale. J'espère apprendre comment les personnes bilingues à Montréal emploient les deux langues parlées. Vous avez été choisi(e) comme participant(e) parce que vous êtes membre d'une famille de trois générations nées à Montréal. Vous êtes un(e) de treize membres choisis à participer dans cette partie de l'enquête; il y a une autre famille bilingue de trois générations d'origine mexicaine nées à San Antonio qui participe aussi.

Si vous acceptez de participer, je vous poserai certaines questions sur quelle langue vous employez quand vous parlez de vous-même or avec d'autres membres de votre famille, vos amis, votre travail. Je vous demanderai d'évaluer vos habilités dans les deux langues aussi que les habilités de vos parents et de votre époux(se). D'autres questions traiteront votre vie quotidienne: les émissions de télé et les films que vous regardez, les journaux et les livres que vous lisez, la cuisine que vous préférez, vos célébrations des jours fériés, votre histoire culturelle et vos expériences. Il n'y a pas de réponses "bonnes" ni "fausses". Je m'intéresse surtout à des histoires que vous pourriez me raconter sur vos expériences en apprenant et en employant les deux langues. Je vais enrégistrer notre discussion mais, encore une fois, il n'y a pas de réponses correctes ou incorrectes.

Votre nom ne sera lié directement à aucune information discutée; au lieu de votre nom, vous serez identifié(e) par une lettre et un numéro. Toute mention de votre nom lié avec votre code d'identification et aussi toutes les cassettes audio resteront dans ma possession et ne seront partagées avec personne pour vous assurer la confidentialité complète.

Il n'y a pas de risques connus associés avec cet enquête. Le temps nécessaire pour votre participation ne serait plus d'une heure, probablement moins. J'espère documenter l'emploi quotidien du français et de l'anglais chez les bilingues à Montréal, une ville dans laquelle les deux langues ont été importantes dans son histoire. Cet enquête devrait montrer aussi la riche tradition ethnique y trouvée.

Votre décision de participer ou non dans cet enquête n'influencera d'aucune manière votre relation éventuelle avec l'Université du Texas à Austin. Si vous acceptez de participer, vous pouvez vous retirer de l'enquête après avoir signé votre consentement, si vous le désirez.

Si vous avez des questions, vous pouvez me les poser quand vous voudrez. Mon adresse est Karen CODY, 3355-D Lake Austin Blvd, Austin, TX 78703; mon numéro de téléphone est (512) 474-1121; mon adresse électronique (e-mail) est *kcody@mail.utexas.edu*. Vous pouvez aussi contacter mes superviseurs, Professor Carl BLYTH, (512) 471-5531, *cblyth@mail.utexas.edu* ou Professor Keith WALTERS, (512) 232-7682, *kwalters@mail.utexas.edu*.

Vous aurez deux copies de ce formulaire. Veuillez en garder une et signer et me renvoyer l'autre si vous acceptez de participer dans cet enquête. Je vous remercie de votre participation.

(signé par le participant) (nom imprimé) (date)

_____ _____

(signé par l'investigatrice) (date)

Appendix 6. San Antonio subjects

SA-I-1-----SA-I-2
Tony *Armonda*

SA-II-3-----(SA-II-4) SA-II-5 SA-II-6
Norma *Richard (Rick)* *Peter (Pete)* *George*

SA-III-7 SA-III-8
Little Rick *Alyssa*

Figure A.1. San Antonio Informants[3]

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Tony. SA-I-1. husband of Armonda, father of Norma, Peter, and George, grandfather of Little Rick and Alyssa; 67 years old; claims Spanish is first language but maintains he speaks both Spanish and English equally; retired federal employee, reportedly using both Spanish and English but primarily English at work; acknowledges no formal instruction in Spanish but considers self fully bilingual having learned to read and write Spanish and considering speaking skills almost equal to English; claims to have completed 10th grade, received a GED and a few hours at a community college in English; reports speaking Spanish with spouse and siblings 75% of time but English with younger generations; acknowledges freely codeswitching by self and others in speech community; professes no preference and acknowledges both Spanish and English stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims affiliation with the Democratic party; describes ethnicity as Mexican American, "American citizen of Mexican descent."

Armonda. SA-I-2. wife of Tony, mother of Norma, Peter, and George, grandmother of Little Rick and Alyssa; 66 years old; reports Spanish is first and preferred language but claims to speak English almost as well; housewife; acknowledges no formal instruction in Spanish but considers self a fully bilingual speaker though admits to not reading or writing Spanish; completed high school in English; declares she speaks Spanish with spouse and siblings 75% of time but English with younger generations; acknowledges freely codeswitching by self and

[3]To ensure anonymity, all names used are pseudonyms.

others in speech community; professes no preference and acknowledges both Spanish and English language stores, television, radio, newspapers though specifically mentions watching “telenovelas” (Spanish soap operas); lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims affiliation with the Democratic party; describes ethnicity as Mexican American.

Norma. SA-II-3. daughter of Tony and Armonda, wife of Richard, sister of Peter and George, mother of Little Rick and Alyssa; 39 years old; English was reported first language but later acknowledged that Spanish was home language until about the age of 4; secretary, claiming to use almost exclusively English; maintains she had formal instruction in French in high school, but some Spanish in middle school; does not claim to be bilingual but acknowledges minimal comprehension of spoken Spanish; expresses regret at not understanding friends, at not knowing her heritage language and not having passed it on to her children as well as some compunction in the face of inter-ethnic reprimands; completed high school; acknowledges hearing codeswitching by others in her family and community; says she prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims affiliation with the Democratic party; describes ethnicity as Hispanic.

Rick. SA-II-4. son-in-law of Tony and Armonda, husband of Norma, father of Little Rick and Alyssa; 41 years old and intimately acquainted with the family for 25 years; reports English is only language; manager of institutional research, claiming to use exclusively English, formerly with the Federal Immigration service reading documents in Spanish; acknowledges one semester of instruction in Spanish in college but claims no knowledge beyond a few words; expresses little regret about linguistic skills Spanish and resistance in the face of intra-ethnic reprimands; explicitly distinguishes between the Spanish spoken in San Antonio with the “correct” Spanish learned in college; completed a Ph.D.; professes to use exclusively English; says he prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims affiliation with the Democratic party; describes ethnicity as Hispanic Mexican.

Peter. SA-II-5. son of Tony and Armonda, brother of Norma and George, uncle of Little Rick and Alyssa; 38 years old; claims English was first and primary language and contends he did not use any Spanish with Mexican American wife or with son; software engineer; contends no formal study of Spanish; completed Ph.D; says he prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish; lived in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was

historically anglophone, now living and working in California in primarily Asian (Chinese and Indian nationals) environment; deems being bilingual (in his field English-Chinese) practical and claims Spanish as a heritage language; claims no political affiliation; describes ethnicity as Hispanic.

George. SA-II-6. son of Tony and Armonda, brother of Norma and Peter, uncle of Little Rick and Alyssa; 33 years old; claims English was first and primary language but uses some Spanish with Mexican American wife; researcher; reports about 4 years of study in Spanish in high school and university though rates skills very low; completed PhD. in addition to 2 M.A. degrees; says he prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish, though states strong intention to teach Spanish to future children; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical and claims Spanish as a heritage language; claims political affiliation as "anti-Republican"; describes ethnicity as Hispanic.

Little Rick. SA-III-7. grandson of Tony and Armonda, son of Norma and Rick, nephew of Peter and George, brother of Alyssa; 20 years old; considers English is only language; student pursuing a B.A.; reports about 2 years of study in Spanish and one trip to the interior of Mexico, but professes minimal skills; expresses regret at not having learned heritage language and probability he'll marry an Hispanic woman who can teach Spanish to future children; says he prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims affiliation with the Democratic party; describes ethnicity as Hispanic Mexican.

Alyssa. SA-III-8. Granddaughter of Tony and Armonda, daughter of Norma and Rick, niece of Peter and George, sister of Little Rick; 17 years old; says she considers English is only language; high school student; claims no formal study in Spanish and no linguistic skills; contends she uses exclusively English; reports she prefers anglophone stores, television, radio, newspapers due to lack of skills in Spanish; lives in a reportedly mixed neighborhood that was historically anglophone; deems both languages practical; claims no political affiliation; describes ethnicity as Hispanic.

SA-I-1-----SA-I-2
Tony *Armonda*

SA-II-3-----(SA-II-4) SA-II-5 SA-II-6
Norma Richard (Rick) Peter (Pete) George

SA-III-7 SA-III-8
Little Rick Alyssa

Figure A.1. **Informants**

SA=San Antonio, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3, etc.=subject number

Appendix 7. Sketch of Montréal subjects

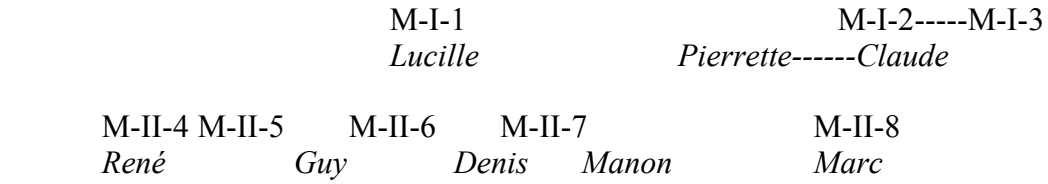

Figure A.2. Montréal Informants[4]

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3etc.=subject number

Lucille. M-I-1. Mother of René, Guy, Denis, Manon, grandmother of Alain and Yannick, sister of Pierrette, aunt of Marc; 70 years old; claims French is first language and still dominant language; retired salesclerk, using both French and English at work; reports little formal instruction in English, but considers self bilingual enough to get by "assez pour me débrouiller"; acknowledges having completed high school and some business courses in French; professes to speak primarily French, English only when traveling outside of Quebec; denies codeswitching; says she prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; contends she lives in an Italian-dominant neighborhood; deems English "nécessaire" to learn to speak; claims affiliation with the Parti Québécois.

Pierrette. M-I-2. Sister of Lucille, wife of Claude, mother of Marc, aunt of René, Guy, Denis, Manon; 73 years old; claims French is only language; retired secretary; reports no formal education in English; contends completed high school in French; says she prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly francophone neighborhood; no claimed political affiliation.

Claude. M-I-3. Husband of Pierrette, brother-in-law of Lucille, father of Marc, uncle of René, Guy, Denis, Manon; 71 years old; maintains that French is only functional language though admits to "occasional" use of English; claims no formal education in English; reports completed high school in French; says he prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly francophone neighborhood; no claimed political affiliation.

[4]To ensure anonymity, all names used are pseudonyms.

René. M-II-4. Son of Lucille, nephew of Pierrette and Claude, brother of Guy, Denis, Manon, father of Alain and Yannick, cousin of Marc; 48 years old; claims French is first language but reports using English now 75% of the time; supervisor in United States, former police officer in Montréal; reports 4 years of formal study in English, resident in US since 1984; claims 3 years of college in French and English; reports codeswitching; maintains has an almost exclusively English environment except for visits with family; deems English a "nécessité"; claims affiliation with the Parti Québécois.

Guy. M-II-5. Son of Lucille, nephew of Pierrette and Claude, brother of René, Denis, Manon, uncle of Alain and Yannick, cousin of Marc; 38 years old; claims French is first language and reports using English 20% of the time; ex-insurance agent; says he attended college in French, now in training for aircraft manufacture; claims 1 year of formal study of English but considers self bilingual; contends he rarely codeswitches; says he prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly Italian-dominant neighborhood; affirms he chose to learn English "pour le travail et la vie de tous les jours, pour les voyages" (for work and everyday life, for travel); claims affiliation with the Parti Québécois.

Denis. M-II-6. Son of Lucille, nephew of Pierrette and Claude, brother of René, Guy, Manon, uncle of Alain and Yannick, cousin of Marc; 36 years old; maintains French is first language, using English 10% of the time; customer service representative; reports attending college in French; claims several years in high school of formal study of English and considers self bilingual; professes to codeswitch very rarely; says he prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly Italian-dominant neighborhood; acknowledges he chose to learn English because it was a requirement for almost all jobs; claims no political affiliation but personal convictions.

Manon. M-II-7. Daughter of Lucille, niece of Pierrette and Claude, sister of René, Guy, Denis, aunt of Alain and Yannick, cousin of Marc; 36 years old; claims French is first language and uses English 50% of the time, especially at work; customer service representative/freelance translator; reports attending college in French; professes no formal study of English but considers self bilingual; maintains she does not codeswitch; says she prefers French stores and newspapers but both French and English radio and television; contends she lived in a francophone neighborhood except for three years in Toronto; acknowledges she learned English "parce que c'est utile de le parler" (because it's useful to speak it); claims affiliation with the Parti Québécois.

Marc. M-II-8. Son of Pierrette and Claude, nephew of Lucille, cousin of René, Guy, Denis, Manon though approximately the same age as M-III; 30 years old; claims French is first and primary language though acknowledges occasional use

of English; claims no formal education in English though affirms he learned out of necessity; completed a university baccalaureate in French; accountant and webmaster; does not claim codeswitching; says he prefers francophone stores, television, radio, newspapers; lives in a reportedly francophone neighborhood; no claimed political affiliation.

Alain. M-III-9. Son of René, grandson of Lucille, nephew of Guy, Denis, Manon, brother of Yannick, great-nephew of Pierrette and Claude, cousin of Marc; 26 years old; claims French is first language but resident of the United States since 1988 and now reports speaking English 90% of the time; computor programmer with major American department store chain; reports studied English formally since the 4th grade; acknowledges codeswitching; contends he has an almost exclusively English environment except family visits; maintains he studied English because didn't have the choice; claims separatist affiliation.

Yannick. M-III-10. Son of René, grandson of Lucille, nephew of Guy, Denis, Manon, brother of Alain, great-nephew of Pierrette and Claude, cousin of Marc; 23 years old; claims French as first language, rarely speaking English; maintains he learned English from watching television, claimed to have studied formally since age of 9 and to consider himself bilingual; reports he rarely codeswitches; says he prefers French newspapers but both French and English stores, television, radio; states he lived in an anglophone neighborhood with francophone mother and anglophone step-father who reportedly communicated exclusively in French; says he learned English as a child in order to watch American television; claims affiliation with the "souvereignistes...séparatiste est un nom anglais" (separatist is an English label).

M-I-1 M-I-2-----M-I-3
Lucille *Pierrette------Claude*

M-II-4 M-II-5 M-II-6 M-II-7 M-II-8
René *Guy* *Denis* *Manon* *Marc*

M-III-9 M-III-10
Alain *Yannick*

Figure A.2. Informants

M=Montréal, I,II,III=generation, 1,2,3etc.=subject number

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Vita

Karen Cody was born in San Angelo, Texas on September 21, 1954 to Kennard Trawn and Marie Jane McLean Cody. She lived with her family in Ozona, Texas until their move to Edinburg, Texas in 1965. After having spent the summer of 1971 in Nice, France with the American Field Service student exchange program, Karen graduated with honors from Edinburg High School in 1972 and attended Texas Christian University on the M.E. Sadler National Merit Scholarship in the Humanities Honors sequence, studying music and foreign languages. After spending the 1974-75 academic year in Paris with the SweetBriar Junior Year Abroad program, Karen received in 1976 her B.A. in French and Spanish from TCU with departmental honors, graduating Phi Beta Kappa, *cum laude* and with Texas teaching certification. Karen was awarded an M.A. in Romance Linguistics with specialization in French language in 1978 by the University of Texas at Austin where she had been employed as a teaching assistant in the Department of French and Italian. Karen worked in international customer service for two years, in international marketing for another three years, and as a passenger service agent at Dallas-Fort Worth Airport and a translator/interpreter for U.S. Customs and Immigration on behalf of the airport for three years before returning to the classroom. From 1987 to 1996 she taught French and Spanish and was chair of the Foreign Language department at Arlington High School, Texas. In 1996, Karen was admitted to the doctoral program at the University of Texas at Austin where she was an assistant instructor

in the Department of French and Italian as well as the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. She is currently employed as a lecturer of French, Spanish and Linguistics at Angelo State University. She has published several articles and presented papers at regional, national and international conferences in her fields of specialization: French and Spanish linguistics, sociolinguistics, foreign language pedagogy, second language acquisition, and applied linguistics.

Permanent address: 1515 South Monroe, San Angelo, Texas 76901

This dissertation was typed by the author.